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Shabanov on Troop Withdrawal From East Europe

To Begin in April

AU2001090789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Partial Withdrawal of Soviet Troops To Commence in April"]

[Text] The Soviet Union will start the partial withdrawal of its troops from Hungary, the CSSR, and the GDR in April. This was announced by Soviet Deputy Defense Minister Army General Vitaliy Shabanov in an interview given to an Austrian Radio and Television reporter (ORF) in Moscow on 16 January. The Soviet troops will withdraw in two phases by 1990.

Shabanov said that the plans had already been worked out and would be published later. He also mentioned that, because of a lack of transportation facilities, the withdrawal of troops will not be an easy task. "No decision has yet been made on the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from these countries, and this issue will be examined once the partial withdrawal has been carried out," Shabanov pointed out.

Foreign Affairs Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov also spoke about this issue and said that the withdrawal of troops "will commence soon." He added that a complete and concrete schedule has not yet been worked out.

According to Marshal Viktor Kulikov, the withdrawal of six Soviet armored divisions and other units from Warsaw Pact countries will commence in the first half of 1989. Viktor Kulikov, first Soviet deputy defense minister, received the members of a delegation of a tripartite committee of Western European, North American, and Japanese politicians in Moscow on 17 January.

During the meeting that lasted 1 and ½ hours and was attended by several high-ranking leaders of the Soviet Army, Marshal Kulikov said that four armored divisions would be withdrawn from the GDR, and one armored division from both the CSSR and Hungary. By withdrawing its troops from Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union fulfills its obligations that derive from the defensive character of its military doctrine, our correspondent reports.

In an interview with the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Colonel General Chervov pointed out that the Army units slated to be withdrawn from the Warsaw Pact countries in accordance with the measures recently announced would be disbanded. There is no basis to the rumors that these units, consisting of 50,000 men, would be transferred to Asian territories.

The unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops from the allied countries was announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly meeting on 7 December 1988. According to this, a total of 50,000 troops and 5,000 armored vehicles will be withdrawn from the three European socialist countries in question.

The Soviet ambassador in Prague held a press conference on 16 January and announced that the withdrawal of a Soviet armored division from the CSSR would commence soon. As for the Soviet units stationed in the Warsaw Pact countries which are not affected by this troop withdrawal, the withdrawal of these troops at a later date depends on the position of the NATO countries and on international developments, the Soviet ambassador in Prague pointed out.

'Further Clarification'

LD2001183089 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] The Austrian Radio and Television correspondent in Moscow continues to claim he was told the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops would commence in April. The reporter, (Franz Koessler), cites Army General Vitaliy Shabanov. Foreign Affairs Spokesman Gerasimov, on the other hand, said yesterday that the Austrian, and thereafter also the Hungarian papers, had misquoted the general. Only the plans of the withdrawal will be completed by April.

In a new development, MTI's Moscow correspondent has telephoned requesting further clarification from Gerasimov, who now said the following: It is conceivable that the implementation of the plans may indeed begin in April or May.

U.S. Said 'Ambivalent' on Tactical Nuclear Cuts

PM2001192589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 First Edition pp 1, 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Confusion on the Potomac"]

[Text] Washington, 20 Jan—The Soviet Union's decision on the partial withdrawal from Europe of tactical nuclear weapons was immediately interpreted here as a serious military-political challenge to Washington and NATO in the sphere of disarmament. In any case, the first reaction of U.S. Government departments is ambivalent, which makes it possible to speak of a certain confusion on the Potomac.

In a statement for the press, the White House welcomed the Soviet plan, noting that it will serve to improve the international situation. At the same time the White House tried to create the impression that by putting forward the unilateral initiative the Soviet Union is merely...following the West's example. Referring to a 1983 NATO decision to remove obsolete nuclear systems from its arsenal, the authors of the statement claim without batting an eye: "We are glad to note that the Soviets are joining the West." The fact that NATO at the same time adopted an extensive nuclear modernization program which makes provision for the deployment of the latest systems is not mentioned, of course.

The statements of the State Department and the Pentagon were essentially in the same vein. C. Redman, the foreign policy department spokesman, declared that Washington "welcomes the Soviet decision on the partial withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe." But he too, claimed that it was NATO which at the time had set an example for the Soviet Union, which had "not until now responded to the unilateral cuts by NATO." Pentagon spokesman D. Howard was slightly more frank. "We applaud this decision," he said. But at the same time he added: "In the foreseeable future our tactical nuclear forces will remain an important component of the doctrine of flexible response and for this purpose they must be up-to-date." He did not deny that the United States intends to proceed with the program for the modernization of NATO's nuclear weapons.

Washington officialdom's attempts to drown the response evoked by the Soviet decision in rhetoric have not stopped observers from assessing the meaning and significance of this decision at its worth. "The Soviet Union has again seized the initiative in foreign policy," the ABC television network stated. In turn, CBS noted that the USSR's "dramatic statement" may complicate certain of Bush's military plans. Describing the question of the deployment of new nuclear missiles to replace 88 obsolete ones on the territory of the FRG "as one of the trickiest questions on his foreign policy agenda," the television network pointed out that Bonn would like to postpone a decision on this issue. The commentator indicated that the unilateral Soviet initiative could strengthen these sentiments in the FRG, which is what is causing concern in NATO circles.

Decision 'Constructive'

LD2001085089 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 20 TASS—The U.S. Government has described as "constructive" the Soviet decision to withdraw a substantial portion of its armed forces and military hardware including tactical nuclear arms from Central Europe. In a written statement, issued by the White House after a regular briefing on Thursday, it was noted that the U.S. "welcomes any moves" to improve the international situation. The White House added: "Certainly insofar as this involves tactical nuclear weapons, it would be constructive and indicates the Soviet move toward withdrawing actual combat capability".

The statement recalled the NATO Council's "unilateral decision" to reduce its nuclear stockpile in Europe by 1,400 warheads taken in Montebello in 1983. The White House did not mention though that this decision concerned only outdated nuclear arms. At the same NATO Council session it was planned to modernise the NATO nuclear potential, which the U.S. also wants to do now.

Charles Redman, a State Department spokesman, said on Thursday that NATO's programme of nuclear force modernisation keeps underway.

NATO Chief Rejects End to Nuclear Arms in Europe

LD2001135889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] The third meeting of representatives of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has ended. It lasted over 2 years, opening on 4 November 1986. There is a broad reaction in the mass media to the results of the Vienna meeting. After all, the success of this forum has brought closer the time for concrete implementation of the plan for a common European home.

The decision of the USSR announced in Vienna to withdraw formations and units from Central Europe, with all their standard weapons, including tactical nuclear systems, has great political significance, according to Western observers. But along with the positive assessments there are also other views being expressed. The NATO military leadership has declared, for example, that it is not prepared to give an equivalent response to the Soviet peace initiatives, and renounce the enemy image which has been created over the decades.

This can be judged from the speech in Bonn by U.S. General John Galvin, supreme commander of the NATO Joint Armed Forces. In his hour-long speech he mentioned the Soviet proposal with only one sentence, which has already become the norm from the mouths of Western politicians: A good step in the right direction. Galvin categorically rejected the possibility of eliminating nuclear weapons in Europe, and called for their modernization. He also expressed explicit displeasure in connection with the wide protests in the FRG against the ceaseless NATO military maneuvers.

Military 'Counting on Reciprocity' from NATO

LD2101165489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1536 GMT 21 Jan 89

["We Are Counting on Reciprocity From NATO"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—The Soviet Union's unilateral steps not only lead to a significant reduction in its armed forces, but give them a nonoffensive character, Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, has said.

In a conversation with TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov, he stressed that the Soviet Government's decision on the unilateral reduction of the Soviet

Armed Forces, which Mikhail Gorbachev delivered at the United Nations on 7 December 1988, is a most important event which influences many aspects of the life of the human community. That reduction is very significant: The numerical strength of the Soviet Armed Forces will be cut by 500,000 men in the next 2 years. In Europe, 10,000 tanks will be withdrawn from the territory of the socialist countries. We are dealing precisely with those arms which have caused particular anxiety in the West. "Five-thousand-three-hundred of the most modern tanks are being withdrawn from the groups of troops," General Chervov noted.

Of the 10,000 tanks, half will be physically liquidated, and the remainder will be converted into tractors for civilian needs and training vehicles. What is more, 8,500 artillery systems and 800 combat aircraft are subject to reduction in the European part of the USSR and on the territory of the socialist countries.

"It is exceptionally important that such a significant reduction in Soviet armed forces will take place with a simultaneous restructuring so as to give them a nonoffensive structure," said General Chervov. "The divisions which remain for the meantime on the territories of our allies are being reformed. More than 3,000 tanks are being removed from their composition. At the same time, the landing-and-assault and assault river-crossing formations and units with their equipment and technology are being withdrawn from the troop groups."

Tactical nuclear means are also included among the armaments being withdrawn from Central Europe. "This is the key issue," stressed General Chervov. The Warsaw Treaty countries have already on several occasions proposed to NATO talks on reducing and subsequently eliminating tactical nuclear armaments in Europe, including their nuclear components. "The elimination of tactical weapons in Europe is a ripe problem," said the general. "Its solution corresponds to the interests of strengthening the security of all countries. The withdrawal from Central Europe of a certain quantity of Soviet tactical nuclear means, which was declared in Vienna by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, is a sort of 'contribution to the piggy-bank' of those future talks."

"We are not refining existing tactical nuclear missile systems, no substitution is being made of some kinds of these armaments by others which are more modern, and their quantity is not growing," noted General Chervov. "By agreeing to this, we are naturally counting on reciprocity on the part of NATO. We are convinced that by step-by-step reduction, elimination, and rejection of the modernization of nuclear arms, it is possible to attain the goal which was proclaimed in the Soviet program for stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament that was advanced on 15 January 1986."

Soviet Arms Inspectors End UK Visit, Depart

LD2001212389 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] London January 20 TASS—Groups of Soviet experts that, according to the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, were staying in Great Britain to inspect the bases of U.S. Air Force at Greenham Common, Berkshire, and Molesworth, Cambridgeshire, left by air for home. One of the groups of inspectors ascertained that all U.S. cruise missiles have been withdrawn from Molesworth base, the other group carried out an inspection at Greenham Common base.

This was the third visit of Soviet experts to Great Britain since the time the INF Treaty was signed.

Shevardnadze Praises Reagan, Secretary Shultz

AU2101210189 Vienna KURIER in German 21 Jan 89 p 5

["Exclusive" interview with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Heinz Nussbaumer in Vienna—date not given]

[Text] Nussbaumer: Mr Minister, the KURIER called on the people to help the Armenians, and the Austrians have donated 50 houses to the victims of the earthquake. Is this not a sign for the USSR foreign minister that relations between East and West, between Austria and the Soviet Union, have undergone important changes?

Shevardnadze: First of all, let me tell you that I am deeply moved. Our generation will one day be gone but the "Austrian village" will continue to exist as a symbol. It is no coincidence to me that this relief operation and the CSCE are taking place at the same time.

One thing is true: The face of the world has undergone radical changes recently. Just look at the CSCE meeting in Vienna, which is an immensely important phase in the life of the European peoples!

In the Soviet Union, we are also in the middle of a process of far-reaching changes. We are not the same today as we were yesterday, and tomorrow we will be different from today. The whole country is involved; everything strives for renewal and restructuring.

Nussbaumer: The West identifies the changes in the USSR with one name: Mikhail Gorbachev. People believe that his personal fate is indivisibly linked with the reforms in the Soviet Union. Is that correct?

Shevardnadze: I do not think that I will tell you anything new. Mr Gorbachev is in fact the initiator and organizer of this grand work. There is no doubt about that. However, he has not started from a blank spot. During the years of stagnation (from Brezhnev to Andropov—the editor) leading officials already thought about the change and worked for its implementation. They realized that things could not continue in the old way in the Soviet Union. Then Gorbachev entered the scene and took on the leadership of this powerful movement. This is why he today enjoys the popularity and support of the entire Soviet people! Because this is so obvious, he also enjoys the support of the whole world.

Nussbaumer: Is it not risky, however, to concentrate the restructuring of the Soviet Union to such a degree on one person?

Shevardnadze: You cannot put it that way. It is true that Mikhail Gorbachev is leading this struggle, which I call a "holy struggle." However, he is surrounded by a collective. Enormous changes are taking place within the party; new people come and fight at Gorbachev's side. The reform movement is becoming increasingly broader.

Nussbaumer: It was impressive to hear U.S. Secretary of State Shultz' words of praise for Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze here in Vienna. Is the praise two-way?

Shevardnadze: Let me tell you one thing frankly. Soviet-U.S. relations have undergone three major changes during the past 3 years. Tremendous progress has been achieved! Together, we succeeded in enhancing positive developments in many spheres—certainly in the interest of all of mankind. The outgoing U.S. Administration has certainly made concrete contributions to this.

If you specifically ask me about George Shultz, I am very glad to be able to say this publicly: The improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States has to a great extent been brought about by his personal efforts. I would like to confirm what Shultz said about his personal relationship with me during his speech at the CSCE session: This is really something unique. Two men like us, whose ideologies are so different, find a common language, jointly fulfill decisive tasks for mankind, and have such a good personal relationship with each other. Let me tell you a secret: I have addressed a very personal farewell letter to Shultz, and thanked him for everything—and Mr Gorbachev did the same thing.

Nussbaumer: In retrospect, what do think of Ronald Reagan? Did he serve peace, too? Was he a president of peace?

Shevardnadze: There is no doubt about that. I would like to specify this a little: I would not use these words to describe Ronald Reagan's first term of office. However, things have improved after about 1985, following the Geneva meeting. From this time on, I think Ronald Reagan's personal contribution is undisputed. He has earned historic merit!

Nussbaumer: The U.S. secretary of state has conjured up a future Europe here in Vienna, which is undivided, free, and secure. Can you describe your vision of this continent, in political, ideological, and military terms?

Shevardnadze: This is not a vision for me, you know, no dream, but a real task: There must be security for all—both for the large and small states. There must be diversity: different peoples, different systems, a whole variety. However, it must still remain a common European home.

Nussbaumer: The USSR has frequently used the term a "common European home," but it is at the same time part of Europe and part of Asia. Must Western Europe not be afraid that the Asian part serves as a "strategic backyard" for the superpower USSR—a backyard which Western Europe does not have?

Shevardnadze: We do not apply two different yardsticks: Security, cooperation, and good-neighborliness, the principles that have been worked out at the CSCE meeting in Vienna, also determine our policy in Asia. All positive developments in Europe can also be applied there. In Asia, similar processes are under way.

Nussbaumer: Do you consider yourself to be a European power?

Shevardnadze: Of course, we are a European power. However, we are also an Asian power. This twofold task makes possible learning processes in two directions. In Asia, for example, the principles of a nuclear-free world have already been developed further than in Europe. In this field, the Europeans can learn from the Asians.

Nussbaumer: Mr Minister, nearly every week you surprise the world with new disarmament proposals. To what extent does the dramatic financial situation in the USSR force you to do this? This is not intended as a depreciatory statement because if the West Europeans know that you need disarmament, by all means, your proposals are much more credible.

Shevardnadze: Let me tell you this: Yes, the Soviet Union does need disarmament. Let me tell you another thing: The United States also needs disarmament, and the Europeans need it, too! Do you think that there is a single country in the world in which military expenditure can ultimately be justified? Ultimately, it is irresponsible to spend such huge sums on weapons and defense. We need fewer weapons—everywhere! They are barbaric and do not correspond to the current state of human civilization!

Shevardnadze Meets European Officials in Vienna

Meets 'Socialist' Delegations

PM1901170589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings in Vienna"]

[Excerpt] Vienna, 18 Jan—[passage omitted] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is here in connection with the conclusion of the Vienna meeting of states taking part in the all-European process, paid a visit to F. Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria.

During the talks mutual satisfaction was expressed with the successful completion of the Vienna meeting of CSCE participant states.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership E.A. Shevardnadze expressed gratitude to the Austrian Government, which made a weighty contribution to organizing and successfully holding the Vienna forum.

Both sides were unanimous that states' efforts must now be concentrated on realizing the accords reached in Vienna.

The Austrian head of government voiced the opinion that the new large-scale initiatives advanced in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech and the Soviet Union's decision on a major unilateral reduction in its troops and arms create good preconditions for the talks soon to begin on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence-building measures.

During the discussion of questions of bilateral relations E.A. Shevardnadze and F. Vranitzky advocated the further deepening of cooperation between the USSR and Austria in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres on the basis of the accords reached during reciprocal visits by the leaders of the two countries.

The meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere, in a spirit of mutual understanding and constructive cooperation.

E.A. Shevardnadze met with Austrian Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister A. Mock.

Questions of further developing the all-European process and holding talks on disarmament and confidence-building measures in Europe were discussed.

There was an exchange of opinions with regard to political contacts under the auspices of the Foreign Ministries of the two countries. Assessments were made of the state of affairs in the sphere of bilateral cooperation.

E.A. Shevardnadze had a friendly meeting at the USSR Embassy in Vienna with the foreign ministers and delegation heads of the socialist states at the Vienna meeting.

The representatives of the fraternal countries exchanged opinions on the results of the all-European forum, which is coming to a close, and noted its great significance for strengthening security and cooperation on the continent.

They voiced satisfaction with the high degree of cooperation among the socialist countries at the Vienna forum and pointed out that all the fraternal countries and each one individually made a major contribution to the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting and the adoption of weighty political accords there.

The common desire of the socialist states to promote the profitable holding—in the interests of all European states—of the forums envisaged in the Vienna decisions was emphasized.

The meeting participants advocated commencing as soon as possible parallel talks on reducing troops and arms and on measures of military detente in Europe and imparting a businesslike, constructive direction to these talks.

In E.A. Shevardnadze's talks with British Foreign Secretary G. Howe both sides noted with satisfaction that the conclusion of the Vienna meeting opens up a new, qualitatively higher stage in realizing the goals and tasks of the unique CSCE process, creates good groundwork, and outlines a ramified program for purposeful work on strengthening security and developing relations of trust and cooperation in Europe.

The ministers advocated making efficient use of the negotiating mechanism agreed on in Vienna and profitably holding all-European measures, including forums in London and Moscow.

In light of the results of the Paris conference of states which signed the 1925 Geneva protocol and other interested countries the ministers exchanged opinions with regard to the state of affairs at the talks on banning chemical weapons and expressed the hope that agreement on the corresponding convention can be completed in the very near future.

During a discussion of questions of regional problems special attention was devoted to the situation around Afghanistan.

Further stages in the development of the Soviet-British political dialogue were discussed during the talks.

E.A. Shevardnadze had a meeting with Spanish Foreign Minister F. Fernandez-Ordonez, who was also speaking on behalf of the Council of the European Communities.

The ministers pointed out that the weighty and carefully balanced final document of the Vienna meeting takes security and cooperation in Europe to a qualitatively new level. Advocating the consistent and rigorous realization of the Vienna accords on military-political, trade, economic, ecological, and other questions, they underlined progress in the "human dimension" of the all-European process, in which the Moscow humanitarian conference will conclude the series of meetings.

The sides drew attention to the special importance of the decision to begin talks on conventional armed forces and on further confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

With regard to Spain's presidency of the European Communities, the tasks of and prospects for cooperation between the USSR and the European Communities were examined in detail. The prospects of a political settlement of regional conflicts, as well as other urgent international questions, were discussed in this context.

The ministers confirmed their interest in further expanding the Soviet-Spanish political dialogue, which is an important factor in strengthening confidence inside and outside Europe.

It was stated with satisfaction that mutually advantageous relations are developing steadily between the USSR and Spain in various spheres and have good prospects for the future.

In the evening E.A. Shevardnadze and Federal Chancellor F. Vranitzky attended a charity concert in the Vienna State Opera House, the proceeds from which will go to the fund for victims of the earthquake in Armenia.

Meets Genscher, Andreotti, Dumas

LD1901175189 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 19 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, has had a meeting here with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy federal chancellor and foreign minister of the FRG.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that the Vienna meeting's successful conclusion opened up broad and realistic prospects for a qualitatively new stage in the development of the Helsinki process. The sides pointed out that practical implementation of the Vienna decisions was now on the order of the day. The Soviet Union and the FRG attach particular importance to parallel and mutually-complementing negotiations on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, on measures to strengthen confidence and security. They will exert every possible effort to promote substantially all-European cooperation in the humanitarian, economic, ecological, cultural and scientific domains.

Eduard Shevardnadze called the attention of Hans-Dietrich Genscher to the settlement of the Afghan problem. He stressed that it could be achieved through the formation of a representative government with the participation of all the existing political forces in Afghanistan.

The ministers discussed questions pertaining to the further development of political contacts between the two countries.

Eduard Shevardnadze also had a meeting with the Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti. The sides discussed questions linked with the post-Vienna phase of the Helsinki process.

The ministers laid special accent on the importance of making headway at the negotiations on European disarmament and on confidence-building measures in the continent. They expressed mutual accord on the desirability of interaction among all states in the interests of consolidating the results achieved in Vienna.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the development of the Soviet-Italian political dialogue, with growing cooperation between the two countries in different areas.

The talk touched on questions of the Afghan settlement.

Discussed during the Soviet foreign minister's meeting with Roland Dumas, state minister and minister of foreign affairs of France, were questions of further developing Soviet-French relations. The ministers expressed their mutual desire to make Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to France a major political event which will give an impetus to the expansion of cooperation between the two countries.

They stressed the importance for Europe and for the all-European process of the negotiation mechanism created at the Vienna meeting, went on record for furthering and consolidating Soviet-French interaction in the implementation of the Vienna accords. They discussed in this context their approaches to beginning negotiations on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence-building measures, primarily from the viewpoint of their dynamic advancement from the very outset for the purpose of achieving concrete results.

The sides also discussed the situation in different regions of the world, including the prospects for settling the Middle East and Afghan issues.

Meets IAEA Head

LD1901204989 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 19 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, had a meeting at the headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) here with its director-general Hans Blix.

The Soviet foreign minister expressed his high regard for the agency's efforts to strengthen the nuclear weapons non-proliferation regime, to promote international cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, to strengthen the safety regime in the development of nuclear power engineering. He informed Hans Blix on the Soviet Union's measures to guarantee the safety of nuclear power engineering. The Soviet minister also stressed the importance of IAEA work on the problem of radioactive waste and its efforts to guarantee the safety of atomic power plants in the event of their stoppage.

Positively assessed also was the work done under IAEA aegis by scientists of the USSR, USA, Japan, and the European community to develop an international experimental thermonuclear reactor. Successful completion of these efforts may allow mankind to produce an ecologically clean, safe and truly inexhaustible source of energy on the basis of thermonuclear synthesis.

Hans Blix told Eduard Shevardnadze about the principal directions of the agency's work, particularly about its efforts to improve the system of the IAEA guarantees in order to prevent nuclear materials from being switched from peaceful uses to military purposes.

Meets Cyprus' Iakovou

LD1901205289 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 19 TASS—Problems of mutual concern, including the question of promoting contacts, have been discussed here by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and Yeoryios Iakovou, the Cyprus foreign minister.

Both sides exchanged their assessments of the present situation in Cyprus and of the prospects for settling the issue. It was noted that more favourable conditions had recently appeared for progress towards peace and accord on the island.

Meets Finland's Sorsa

PM2001120089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report under the general heading "Meetings in Vienna"]

[Text] Vienna, 19 Jan—E.A. Shevardnadze met with Finnish Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister K. Sorsa.

Both sides emphasized their satisfaction with the results of the Vienna meeting. The ministers noted that its decisions open up broad prospects for the further development of the processes of detente and cooperation in Europe in the spirit of the new political thinking and the concept of the common European home.

An exchange of opinions took place on the problems raised in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech. The conviction was expressed that the unilateral measures announced by the Soviet Union to reduce its armed forces will give additional impetus to the successful holding of talks on confidence-building measures and arms reduction in Europe.

In the traditional constructive spirit, the sides examined some aspects of bilateral relations between the USSR and Finland.

Returns to Moscow

LD1901232789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Today Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze arrived in Moscow from Vienna. He was met at the airport by Comrade Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials. Grubmayer, Austrian ambassador in the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

CSCE Ambassador Kashlev Reviews Results

AU1901151389 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 18 Jan 89 p 4

[Statement made by Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev, leader of Soviet CSCE delegation, to ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME reporter Vanya Encheva in Vienna on 17 January]

[Text] I would like to begin with yesterday's statement by Mikhail Gorbachev in which he gave a high assessment of the Vienna meeting, and to the agreement reached on the mandate for future negotiations to reduce conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. As he declared, this is a success, and a great contribution to the future building of the common European home. I could not have put it better myself. In my view, the fruits of the 2 years of work at this meeting have indeed turned out to be extremely satisfactory. The military-political dimension of the all-European process has received a new impetus. Negotiations lie ahead, a fact that in itself indicates progress. The humanitarian aspect of this process has also acquired new dimensions. It can be said that it is the first time that the socialist countries have made such an active and constructive approach in this field at such an international forum. We submitted numerous proposals. The final document reflected the concept, formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev, on the role of the human factor. A number of major conferences are planned that will deal with this range of problems, and the third of these will take place in Moscow. The agreement reached with certain Western countries, albeit with difficulties, on holding the forum in the Soviet capital represents recognition of the success of the policy of democratization and glasnost that is being carried out in our country. We are convinced that the Moscow conference on humanitarian issues will turn into a great event.

Regarding the issues of the second "basket," which relate to economic cooperation, trade, and issues concerning science and exchange of technologies, definite steps forward have also been made, especially in such a topical field as environmental protection in Europe. We are glad that we succeeded in defending the proposal that Sofia should host an international ecological forum, because Bulgaria's contribution and her active work in this field are well-known. I am sure that this conference will also be crowned with great success.

The issues are many. For the first time since Helsinki, an extensive program has been adopted for subsequent steps. Plans are being made for 11 major all-European meetings which will all be held within the next 3 years, before the next meeting in Helsinki in 1992. We only have to recall that the number of such meetings was much smaller throughout the entire period from 1975 to the Vienna meeting. This represents a practical start on building the common European home. The building material is at hand, but the walls of this home have to be built simultaneously, because none of them can be lower than the others. All the problems are interconnected—disarmament, economic cooperation, human rights, ecology, and so on. We must now energetically engage in building our common home.

Upcoming European Conferences Noted

LD2201211989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1458 GMT 22 Jan 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] [Gerasimov] Hello, comrades! We live in a diverse world and we decided to base today's program on the principle of diversity. So, over to the Austrian capital and Georgiy Zubkov:

[Zubkov, over video of proceedings of CSCE, showing delegates including USSR delegation] The hall where the Vienna meeting took place resounded with declarations that Europe—which in translation means he who sees afar—embraces all the continents in its vision and opens up to mankind, indivisible from mankind and mutually linked with it in its destiny. What uncommon things did the old world say to the world this time? The main thing is that the new political thinking acquired an extra realistic dimension in Vienna, opened up hitherto unexplored opportunities, and enabled more responsible obligations to be assumed in all spheres—military-political, economic, scientific, ecological, and humanitarian. This was registered in all its details and with all the nuances in the final document of the Vienna meeting, which was adopted by 35 states.

[Video of street scenes in Vienna] The meeting has come to an end, and now we have an opportunity to reflect upon it while strolling through the streets of Vienna. And for you, it is an opportunity to cast even just a fleeting glance at the beautiful old city in the center of Europe, and at its inhabitants. The 27 months of the Vienna meeting were not easy, 27 months of discussions at plenary sessions, work in many commissions, and debates between experts. It sometimes seemed that confrontation would turn out to be stronger than the urge for agreement. Can it be easy when not only the numerous participants, but also representatives of countries with differing social systems, of big and small countries, neutral countries, and ones belonging to opposing blocs, are gathered at the negotiating table? What was it that helped find a common language and drew up a document of unprecedented significance? Compromise—and specifically the compromise displayed by both East and West made it possible to adopt such a broad program of collective actions.

The list of these alone is astonishing. Thus, in the next 3 years it has been decided to hold in Europe negotiations on confidence building and security measures and, alongside these, negotiations on conventional armed forces. Both of these, the importance of which need not be mentioned, will start right here in Vienna at the beginning of March, in 6 weeks time that is; then a conference on economic cooperation in Bonn; a conference on environmental protection in Sofia; a conference on Mediterranean problems in Palma de Majorca; a conference of experts on the peaceful settlement of disputes in Valetta. The human rights conferences will undoubtedly be major events—as the final document puts it, conferences on the human dimension—conferences in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow. These will be supplemented by an information symposium in London and a symposium on cultural heritage in Krakow. And finally, like Vienna, another general meeting of member countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will open in Helsinki in March 1992.

[Zubkov continues, over video of stone monoliths outside the Austria Center, and of CSCE member-country flags flying, schoolchildren looking at the stones] These huge stones stand in front of the new Palace of Congresses in the Austrian capital. The stone monoliths are not the gift of nature. They were skillfully inserted by architects into the modern ensemble of structures. They are the work of human fantasy and human hands. With some difficulty and adventure people brought to the bank of the Danube unique stone sculptures from all parts of the world—from North and South America, from Africa, from Australia. And there is a European stone, too; one from our fatherland. I have often seen adults and children in various countries reverentially touching bronze effigies of sacred animals, or throwing coins in famous fountains for luck, or to ensure that their wishes will be granted. And these Austrian schoolchildren are placing the palms of their hands on the stone monuments. Five continents, the whole planet gathered together at the Austria Center Palace, the eternal, indivisible world—may it for ever be such, for the schoolchildren, for you and me, for all.

Shevardnadze Comments on Narcotics Trafficking

LD1901215989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, 19 Jan (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, who is in Vienna at the meeting of representatives of the CSCE participant states, has given an interview to TASS.

Question: On behalf of the Soviet Union you have signed in Vienna the UN convention against illicit narcotics trafficking and psychotropic substances. What was the reason for such a document being adopted? And why has the Soviet Union joined the convention?

Answer: Because the Soviet Union is a member of the world community, and everything that concerns the world community is our concern too. Today that community is forming a common front against illicit proliferation of narcotics and psychotropic substances, and our country is taking up its place on this frontline. I would like to draw your attention to the speed with which we have completed the necessary procedures for this: The document was adopted at the Vienna conference last December and we signed it this January. In doing this the Soviet Union has, in particular, provided evidence that it takes the most serious attitude toward the problem in question. I am convinced that the convention will play a crucial role in repulsing the 'white death' on a worldwide scale.

In our view, however, the significance of the convention goes far beyond the problem of combating narcotics. This can be seen in the inspiring example of the gathering and consolidation of international forces under the aegis of the United Nations ready to respond to the menacing challenges of our time which threaten mankind with great misfortunes. In other words, if we are capabale of uniting to combat narctoics and drug addiction, we can rally together to counter other global dangers as well: an ecological disaster, a world economic collapse, famine, poverty, and, of course, the fatal overloading of the world with weapons, which is fraught with the danger of civilization's self-destruction.

We have no doubts that the problem of illicit trafficking of narcotics has already moved into this 'menacing rank'. It is truly a worldwide problem.

The illicit trafficking in narcotics accompanying drug addiction, and quite often cultivating it, has assumed a huge scope over recent years. International crime rings have formed. They enmeshed the world with a cruel network of narcotics businesses. It is a national tragedy for many countries, depriving them of their most valuable "capital of the future," healthy youth. Moreover, narcotics trafficking begins to threaten the state system and economic prosperity of some countries. In short, the problem has far transcended national boundaries and the capabilities of the health services and law enforcement bodies. It is now a global problem, moreover a political one, and it can be resolved only by joint efforts. The new convention creates precisely a real basis in the context of international law for this.

Question: It is known that similar steps have been taken in this sphere in the past. What new elements will this convention introduce?

Answer: I don't think here has been anything like the adopted convention in the past. Admittedly, there is the single convention of 1961 on narcotic substances and the 1971 convention on psychotropic substances, but they primarily establish monitoring of the legal use of narcotic substances for medical and scientific purposes, preventing them leaking out into illicit trade.

Today, however, this is not enough. There is a need for actions aimed directly against the narcotics traffickers.

The convention introduces measures of international law to cut short illegal trafficking in narcotics, to ensure that the criminals will inevitably be punished, wherever they are, to ensure effective and prompt cooperation of law enforcement bodies of various countries. I would remind you incidentally, that appropriate institutions of the Soviet Union have already joined, and very successfully, into this activity. The convention also creates the conditions for establishing and confiscating illegal profits of the Mafia engaged in the narcotics business, no matter in what country these incomes are hidden and how they are protected and camouflaged.

It is noteworthy that the document introduced some measures in international control with regard to the number of chemical substances which are used in the industry and are not narcotics in themselves, but which are widely used and whose large-scale illicit manufacture has been organized. We wholly join the call of the Vienna conferences without waiting for the convention to go into effect to underpin its aims and provisions by concrete practical deeds, establishing effective interaction of competent bodies of various countries in this area on a multilateral and regional basis, and also on a bilateral basis.

I repeat: We do have certain experience of successful joint action. There is also potential for the further expansion of cooperation.

Gerasimov Speaks on Freedom of Movement, Domicile

LD2201212789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1458 GMT 22 Jan 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] [Gerasimov] The final document of the Vienna meeting, which all participants are obliged to print, may seem somewhat wordy and perhaps dull to the ordinary reader. But, I doubt whether we can imagine right now just what effect it will have, not only on the political climate in Europe, but also directly on our own society. Here is just one example, for instance. The document states: The participant states will fully respect every person's right to freedom of movement and domicile within the bounds of the borders of each state.

Well, in regard to domicile, we have in our country an administrative invention unknown to most countries, namely the propiska—the residence permit: an administrative method of fracturing people's destinies. The propiska will for a number of reasons be with us for a long time yet, of course, but the Vienna document at least brings us the idea—only recently considered fantastic—that the propiska is by no means a holy cow.

Further in the document we go on to read: The participant states will fully respect every person's right to leave any country, including his own country, and to return to his own country. It is stated in writing that this is every person's right. But we well know that travel abroad has been regarded, and sometimes is still regarded, by no means as every person's right, but as a privilege for some people. And since the bureaucratic procedures with us, as far as we recall, are so humiliating, it seems to us that that is how things should be. However, the fact is that things should not be like that. Of course, we do not live in an ideal world, and there are exceptions to every rule. The Vienna document takes account of that. In particular, it takes account of the fact that an individual's application to travel abroad may be refused for reasons of state security. But in such cases the participant states promise and assume the obligation—I am quoting again—to ensure that within strictly substantiated periods, any restriction on travel by such a person should be as short as possible and should not be applied arbitrarily.

Well, of course objective difficulties arise here, such as currency exchange for instance—you can't get far without foreign currency, and there's not enough of it, to put it mildly—but the Vienna document at least provides the idea that even these bureaucratic bastions will fall, too, when their turn comes.

The document of the Vienna meeting gives the participant states a year, only just a year, to publish all the laws and legally binding acts relating to the movement of individuals through their territories and between states. It is very important for citizens to know their rights and not to fall victim to secret instructions unknown to them. The internal legislation should accord with the international obligations of the participant countries; it must not be the case that one thing stands in the signed document while something else applies in life. Well, I have taken just one example, relating to freedom of movement. The final document of the Vienna meeting is generally aimed at making relations between the participant countries more humane. And it envisages numerous continuations.

Gerasimov Gives News Briefing 19 January

LD1901165489 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The Soviet side assesses highly the Vienna meeting of states—parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—the road it has traversed. It was stated today at a briefing here by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate. He stressed that the main result of the meeting was that it had ushered in a basically new phase of the Helsinki process, had produced "a deep and substantial change in the contemporary political world outlook".

Touching on tomorrow's inauguration of the new U.S. Administration, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the hope that Soviet-American relations would continue to develop in a spirit of constructive continuity for the sake of a radical betterment of the international situation.

The Soviet Union assesses the two resolutions passed by the U.N. Security Council on South-West Africa as an important stage in the process of Namibia's decolonisation and in ensuring Angola's security, as a genuine step forward in settling the situation in that region, Gennadiy Gerasimov continued. This process, he stressed, is of fundamental importance not only for southern Africa, but for the world as a whole. It testifies to the viability of the emerging mechanism for settling conflictual situations on political lines with U.N. assistance.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that subsequent developments had confirmed the constructiveness of the January 21st, 1986 Soviet proposals on principles to settle the Cyprus issue and on ways to acheive this end. Gennadiy Gerasimov said that the Soviet Union backed the efforts made within the U.N. frameworks to achieve a peaceful political settlement of the Cyprus problem. He noted that "the Soviet Union is ready to discuss with all sides concerned the ways for achieving an early solution of this important regional problem both on the basis of our program and with due regard for the possible views of other states".

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman qualified as an "inhumane act violating elementary human rights" the Israeli authorities' recent decisions to step up repressions against the Palestinians. It is obvious, he noted, that intensification of repressions in the occupied territories runs counter to the positive tendencies that have emerged in the political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Gennadiy Gerasimov drew attention to the inaccuracy committed by Hungarian newspapers in their summary of the interview given to the Austrian radio by Vitaliy Shabanov, deputy defence minister of the USSR. They reported that he had allegedly announced the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary this April. In reality he said that the "program for the withdrawal of Soviet troops would be ready by April". Naturally, the Soviet spokesman noted, this program is being drawn up jointly with our allies.

Speaking of the efforts to do away with the earthquake consequences in Armenia, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that according to data of January 16th the number of corpses extracted from under the ruins has reached 24,959. As many as 2,415 quake victims have been hospitalised and 115,763 persons have been evacuated.

Appraises Jim Baker Remarks

LD1901142989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 19 Jan 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, expressed hope for the further development of Soviet-U.S. relations in the spirit of constructive continuity in the interests of radical improvement of the international situation.

Speaking here today at a briefing, he gave a mainly positive appraisal of remarks by James Baker, the future U.S. secretary of state, at the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. The Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that "judging by James Baker's statement, he is seriously thinking about the realities of the contradictory world in which we live and in which different tendencies oppose one another.

One cannot disagree with his assertion that a "window of possibilities" has indeed now opened, making it possible, with steadfast general efforts, to attain a more durable stability at lower levels of armed forces and weapons."

The Soviet side, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, is also fully satisfied with the striving expressed by the future secretary of state toward a higher degree of predictability, consistency, and stability in relations between the USSR and the United States.

Notes Border Agreement

LD1901153789 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The draft of a new inter-government agreement was worked out. It provides for a simpler order of crossing the state border by Soviet and Hungarian citizens living in Trans-Carpathian region and Szabolocs-Szatmar region, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Speaking at a briefing here on January 19, he noted that the new agreement envisages the right to use a simpler order of crossing the border by all citizens of the Soviet Union and Hungary, who permanently live in the above regions and not only by relatives. It will be permitted to cross the border by any means of conveyance.

At a suggestion of the Hungarian side, Gennadiy Gerasimov noted, an understanding was reached that before the agreement comes into force, citizens will be permitted to cross the border by means of conveyance, daily service of simpler crossing points will be organised and, as an experiment, joint border and customs inspection.

Criticizes Israeli 'Repressions'

LD1901154489 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov has qualified the Israeli authorities' recent decision to step up repressions against the Palestinians as an inhuman act, violating elementary human rights. This decision, he stressed at a briefing here today, has already been condemned throughout the world, in Israel included.

It is obvious, Gennadiy Gerasimov noted, that intensification of repressions in the occupied territories runs counter to the positive tendencies that had emerged in the political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Last year the Israeli authorities were able to see practically every day that intensification of punitive operations against the Palestinians could not bring about peace and tranquility, yielded diametricallly opposite results.

Gennadiy Gerasimov expressed the hope that realism would finally prevail within the Israeli leadership and the latter would come to realise that the road to peace in the Middle East lay through peaceful negotiations among all sides concerned, through an international conference under U.N. aegis, which would guarantee security to all the states of the region, and the right to self-determination to the Palestinian people.

Notes Cyprus Proposals

LD1901153389 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The developments have confirmed the constructive character of the Soviet Union's proposals made three years ago (on January 21, 1986) on the principles of the Cyprus settlement and the ways to achieve it, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today.

"The Soviet Union's initiative which met with a positive response of the majority of the international community, also of people in Cyprus, was prompted by a sincere wish to promote in a specific way the overcoming of the chronic impasse in the process of the Cyprus settlement with reliance on the United Nations resolution and with taking into consideration the lawful interests of all Cyprus people, for the purposes of consolidating peace and security in the region", he said.

The Soviet Union vigorously supports the efforts taken in the United Nations framework, aimed at a peaceful political solution to the Cyprus problem, wishes success to the participants in the dialogue conducted between the communities, Gerasimov went on. "Positive changes in the international situation, nascent tendencies for the settlement of a number of acute long-lasting regional conflicts create favourable conditions also for the solution of the Cyprus problem with the assistance of the world community, also by an international conference in the United Nations framework", he said.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the Soviet Union's readiness "to discuss with all the parties concerned the ways of an early solution to this important regional problem both on the basis of our program and with taking into consideration possible suggestions from other countries".

UN Adopts 2 New Resolutions on Namibia

LD1701074389 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

The United Nations Security Council has fixed April 1, 1989, as a date for the start of implementation of its Resolution 435 on the granting of independence to Namibia.

In two resolutions unanimously adopted on Monday, it emphasized its determination to secure that Namibia gains independence at an earliest date through free and fair elections under U.N. supervision and control, and also instructed the U.N. secretary-general to begin to arrange an official ceasefire between the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the Republic of South Africa.

While recognizing the progress achieved in the peace process in the south west of Africa, the U.N. Security Council at the same time expressed concern over the increase in police and paramilitary forces as well as over the formation of south west African territorial forces. It urged the Republic of South Africa immediately and considerably to reduce the existing police forces in Namibia.

The resolutions emphasize the responsibility of all the parties concerned for ensuring conditions under which the people of Namibia would be able to participate in free and fair elections under U.N. supervision and control.

It was suggested that the U.N. secretary-general reconsider requirements necessary for the activities of the U.N. force in Namibia and to determine measures to cut down expenditures without detriment to the fulfilment of the U.N. force's mandate i.e. to ensure Namibia's transition to independence at an earliest date.

The U.N. Security Council called on U.N. member nations to consider the question of giving economic and financial support to the Namibian people both during the transitional period and after the gaining of independence.

An important stage has been traversed, and a compromise solution has been found in difficult negotiations, Theo Ben Gurirab, SWAPO secretary for foreign affairs, told journalists. This is only a small step in the needed direction. Much is yet to be done in accordance with the letter and spirit of Resolution 435. Great changes have occurred in Namibia over the ten years that have passed since the resolution was adopted. The number of South Africa's troops has doubled to amount to about 100,000 now. The number of Pretoria's police forces increased from 2,000 to more than 10,000. South African paramilitary units are 35,000-strong. South Africa has also increased its military force at the base at Walvis Bay. This is why it would be logical to demand an increase in the U.N. force in Namibia rather than a cut-down.

We intend to study this question very attentively before reflecting our proposals in a report to the U.N. Security Council, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar told the TASS correspondent.

However, an irreparable damage to the cause can be done if everything is reduced only to concern for a reduction in expenditures for the maintenance of the U.N. force which will participate in the process of the granting of independence to Namibia. I hope that work on the report will be completed before the end of the week, Perez de Cuellar said.

United States & Canada

George Bush's Inauguration, Remarks Reported

LD2001225489 Moscow TASS in English 2226 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 21 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

To the sounds of salvoes, to the strains of a military band, in the presence of the 40th President of the United States Ronald Reagan who completed his office, of the Congressional leaders, of tens of thousands of Americans who gathered in front of the main building of the U.S. Congress, George Bush, resting his left hand on a bible used by George Washington at his swearing in 200 years ago, took on Friday the noontime oath of office to become the 41st President of the United States of America.

Bush opened his inauguration speech by warmly thanking Reagan for his activity as president over eight years. Declaring that the United States strength "is a force for good", Bush said: "I assume the presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better." Bush said that Americans as people have the purpose: "to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world." "A new breeze is blowing...there is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken," Bush said.

The new head of the White House emphasized that the country faces many problems. "There are the homeless, lost and roaming—there are children who have nothing, no love and no normalcy—there are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction—drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets." The President described the problem of drugs addiction as America's scourge. "But take my word: this scourge will stop," he said.

As regards the problem of homeless, of poverty in general, Bush made it plain that his Administration does not intend to tackle it by increasing appropriations as, he said, "our funds are low" that reliance should be made not so much on funds as on "will". He noted that America lives beyond its means and that measures must be taken to bring the federal budget into balance.

In his speech the new President of the United States expressed concern over moral incentives in the country by asking: "Are we enthralled with material things?" "We are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives...we cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it."

As to the foreign policy, Bush proclaimed allegiance to alliances with America's friends, and at the same time proclaimed that his Administration "will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress," without forgetting about the need for strength and vigilance.

To the prepared text of the inauguration speech Bush added the words which reflect the reliance on the policy from the positions of strength, that American political thinking refuses to give up. He even made a recourse to open threats. "To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow: We will stay strong to protect the peace. The offered hand is a reluctant fist, but the fist, once made, is strong and can be used with great effect."

President Bush Receives Letter from Gorbachev

LD2201075789 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 22 TASS—President George Bush told journalists in the White House on Saturday that he had received a "nice, very generous letter" from Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

"Clearly I will respond not only to that communication from Mr Gorbachev but to expressions of goodwill from all around the world."

Bush also said that he intended to meet U.S. Congress leaders next week to discuss budgetary issues.

The head of the administration made it clear that he also intended to cooperate with the Democrats, who have a majority in both houses of Congress, in the development of a "bipartisan approach" to foreign policy issues.

Text of Congratulatory Message

LD2001183889 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Following is full text of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's message to U.S. President George Bush:

"His excellency

George Bush,

President of the United States of America

Esteemed Mr George Bush,

Please accept congratulations on the occasion of your inauguration as President of the United States of America.

You are taking over leadership of the United States in an atmosphere of improved Soviet-American relations which contributes to bettering substantially the international climate on the whole. Further joint efforts by the Soviet Union and the United States will make it possible substantially to bring closer the solution of the most painful problems of the present time, above all those connected with the need to eliminate the threat of war.

I express the hope that the years of your high tenure as President of the United States will be marked by the stable and diverse development of relations between our countries, so important for peace throughout the world. The Soviet Union, for its part, is prepared to work in this direction.

[Signed] Mikhail Gorbachev"

PRAVDA Profiles Ronald Reagan Presidency

PM2001160989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "Political Portrait": "Reagan's Best Role"]

[Text] The 40th U.S. president leaves the White House today. After 8 years on the "captain's bridge" of America, 77-year-old Ronald Reagan, the oldest president in the country's history, is leaving Washington and heading back for "Sky Ranch" near the city of Santa Barbara in California.

I think that he is leaving Washington with a sense of satisfaction. To all outward indications he is retiring as an extremely successful politician. Doesn't his 1984 reelection for a second term indicate this? (Apart from him, this century only Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Dwight Eisenhower have succeeded in doing this.) Doesn't the transfer of the "relay baton" to another Republican, his own Vice President G. Bush, attest to this? Certainly recent public opinion polls show that Ronald Reagan is still popular.

Yet a couple of years ago it seemed that his presidency would end badly. Reagan's popularity was then at its lowest ebb and he was described as a president who had let the reins of government slip from his hands and as a forgetful old man who was unable to cope with his duties. This was at the height of the "Iran-Contras" scandal, when the wave of revelations could have done irreparable damage to the president and the Republican Party. But Reagan showed once again a quality that his rivals so often underestimated: an ability to mobilize himself, restructure himself, and dissociate himself from scandal. It was not for nothing that he was dubbed the "Teflon President" (Teflon is a substance used to coat skillets to ensure that nothing sticks to them.)

It has to be admitted that we all not only underestimated Reagan fairly frequently but also greatly oversimplified him. His outward simplicity was taken for simple-mindedness, his rhetoric for substance, and his ostentatious toughness for an inability to be flexible. Which is the real 40th U.S. president? The Reagan of the years 1980-1981, who promised to "leave Communism on the ash heap of history"? Or the Reagan of 1987-1988, whose signature is on the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the first agreement in history on the physical elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons?

I remember the clear sunny noon of 29 May 1988. The Georgiyevskiy Hall in the Kremlin. The first day of the Soviet-U.S. summit. After the official exchange of greetings, M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan went into the Yekaterinskiy Hall and sat on a couch. There were the bright lights of spotlights and camera shutters clicked. A Western correspondent asked: "Mr President, how do you feel to be here at the center of the 'evil empire'?" There was laughter. The journalist was clearly speaking ironically, recalling one of the U.S. president's early speeches. Reagan answered that he felt just fine.

A miraculous metamorphosis? The enlightenment of a conservative? I think that this explanation would be another oversimplification and maybe even self-deception. Both the old stance and the new are gestures to specific political circumstances. They are proof of a politician's ability to revise his positions and change.

...The first and most essential "restructuring" in Ronald Reagan's life took place in the fifties. The liberal Democrat and Roosevelt supporter became a conservative Republican. This was the time of McCarthyism and the hunt for "Reds" in Hollywood, a time when America experienced a powerful swing to the right. Reagan, who then held the post of president of the Screen Actors Guild, began to help "eradicate sedition."

During this period, which fell mainly during the Eisenhower presidency, Reagan furnished himself once and for all with the set of opinions that he took into politics decades later: a belief in the miraculous potential of free enterprise, the conviction that America is God's chosen country, and a firm hostility to all leftists. Over the years Reagan abandoned his acting activity and advertised "General Electric" products on television. Things went well; the income was good and regular. While helping market coffee grinders, iceboxes, and electric cookers, he avidly prepared material and collected funny stories—an art that came in good use for him later, in the post of President. It was back then that he was admitted to the circle of local conservative businessmen, who played an important role in his future political career.

Chroniclers of the life of the U.S. capital often poked fun at the 40th U.S. president's past as an actor. Just think, they said: An actor, someone who merely reads out what others have written, is in the country's supreme post, a post that requires independence, determination, and farsightedness. Yet Reagan's acting skills—not only professional but also natural—were an important component of his political success. It is said that Richard Nixon lost the presidential duel to John Kennedy in 1960 because he was poorly made up during the first televised debate, and his face seemed puffy and unhealthy. But this was at the time of black-and-white television, and there were far fewer domestic television sets then. Today the television set with its bright and colorful flickering images is the main interlocutor, friend, and mentor of every American family. Over the last few decades the world of movies and television has become for many Americans a kind of real world in which it is difficult to distinguish what is reality and what is fantasy.

This quality in the average American is characteristic of Reagan too. In one of his speeches, when talking about the heroes of World War II, the president talked about the courage and selflessness of the pilot who refused to parachute and leave a wounded comrade on board an aircraft falling out of the sky. Movie buffs immediately recalled that this was no episode from the war, but a scene from the film "A Wing and a Prayer." The president did this on several occasions. The White House was ultimately forced to give the following explanation: "Hollywood cinematography is the main U.S. art form, and America considers that it is better to embellish reality than show it in all its squalor."

Ronald Reagan was the first White House incumbent to make full 100-percent use of television—that mighty means of molding public opinion. By appearing in Americans' apartments—a program could be beamed from the Oval Office or from the the foot of the Statue of Liberty bathed in the glow of fireworks—he was a member of the family, as it were, an ordinary, understandable man, self-confident and convinced that everything was going well and that America was "back in the saddle."

Friends from the president's youth as an actor recall that he largely played secondary roles and bit parts in movies—the role of the failure, the guy who is rejected by the girl he loves, an invalid. He wasn't given leading roles, and this grieved the actor. But events decreed that he obtained the leading political role in the country. Summing up the results of his 8-year presidency, I would now like to ask the following question: Wasn't this Ronald Reagan's best role?

Reagan has been rather deaf in his right ear since his youth. This is also a relic of his acting career. In the thirties during the shooting of a movie another actor fired a pistol containing a blank almost directly by his temple. What is described as acoustic trauma ensued. This defect could be corrected with the help of a special electrical device. But when it comes to Reagan's political ear, that was always excellent. As governor of California and contender for the country's supreme elected post and later as president, he was always noted for his ability to heed the moods of the country, grasp what could bring success today, and act accordingly. This guaranteed his success in 1980.

Reagan arrived at the White House on the crest of the rightist wave of the late seventies and early eighties, when great dissatisfaction over the state of affairs in the country and the attitude toward the United States abroad had accumulated in America, particularly among the so-called "middle class." This was a bitter cocktail mingling the real and the apparent, mingling awareness of real failures and imagined reasons for dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction with high taxes, inflation in double figures, the ineffectiveness of the social security system, and, above all, the foreign policy problems for Washington, which was particularly humiliated during the attempt to free the U.S. hostages in Tehran—all this created a desire for change. America, which had not recovered from the psychological traumas of its defeat in Vietnam and "Watergate," engaged in some soul-searching and sought the answers to excruciating questions.

"The country is in the grip of a national sickness," "peanut farmer" Jimmy Carter said.

"No," Ronald Reagan said during his struggle for the presidency. "America is walking tall once again and looking to the eighties with courage, confidence, and hope."

It turned out that it was much more pleasant to listen to optimistic speeches than to seek the reasons for a truth that was of small comfort. Reagan came to the White House with a program of radical reforms that BUSINESS WEEK described as the "antithesis of Roosevelt's New Deal." The "Reagan revolution" envisaged a set of ideas that did not always gel with one another: Reagan wanted to free the capitalist economy from the shackles of state regulation, make large tax cuts, sharply increase military appropriations, restore America's indisputable military superiority, rebuff Communism on a worldwide scale, and revive "traditional American values" in the country—patriotism, piety, and the cult of the family.

This was a totally ideologized program that promised virtually to turn everything upside down. But time passed and the contradictions between some items in this platform and others and the contradictions between many of them and objective reality became increasingly clear. It became increasingly clear that Reagan was much more of a realist than his speeches indicated, especially during the first years of his presidency.

There is an unwritten law in U.S. politics—all presidents move toward the political center during their rule whether they began on the right or as a "liberal." The 40th U.S. president, who came to the house on Pennsylvania Avenue as the spokesman for right-wing conservative ideology, did not escape this transformation either. The right-wing wave in the United States began to recede and public sentiments began to change; this was shown by the 1984 elections, when Reagan himself was reelected to a second term but the Republican Party lost its Senate majority. This trend became even more obvious thereafter. Amendments had to be made to both domestic and foreign policy.

This process was also reflected in the changes in the composition of the Republican administration. The "ideologues"—Haig, Clark, Casey, Meese, Weinberger, and Perle—were gradually "washed out" of it. The influence of pragmatists, primarily George Shultz, strengthened. Of all the original team only James Baker, perhaps, was left by the end of the presidency. I think that it is no coincidence that George Bush has offered him the portfolio of secretary of state.

Reagan's presidency contains many mysteries, and one of them is the man's style of leadership. How could a politician who, according to general opinion, was notable for neither Roosevelt's strength of intellect, Kennedy's education, nor even Carter's capacity for work succeed in such a lofty post? Former Speaker Thomas O'Neill is probably not quite correct in saying: "I don't believe that he's worked more than 3 and ½ hours a day." Every American is aware that Reagan did not immerse himself in the reports from the various ministries and departments, as did Carter, virtually never worked late on Pennsylvania Avenue, and flew to his ranch in California at weekends. I think that this method of leadership is only possible under certain conditions. First, the "self-regulating" mechanism of a market economy. Second, the presence of loyal and hard-working assistants.

So here we are January 1989. The almost 3,000 days of Ronald Reagan's presidency are behind us. Which of his plans of 8 years ago were fulfilled and what became of the political slogans that worked then?

The economy. It has proved possible to beat inflation, reduce unemployment, create millions of jobs, and ensure (largely thanks to favorable external circumstances, such as the fall in oil prices) one of the most protracted periods of economic growth. But "Reaganomics"—I quote the business circles' magazine BUSINESS WEEK—"also leaves extremely unpleasant consequences: a vast negative trade balance and a gigantic budget deficit which will considerably limit the future President's freedom of action in economic leadership."

Taxes were indeed reduced and this played its role in reviving economic activity. But the promises to balance the federal budget now sound like a sick joke. The Carter deficit of more than $73 billion has more than doubled. Promises to rid Americans of the burden of big government also remained unfulfilled. The bureaucratic apparatus has continued to increase, although the process has slowed somewhat. Whereas under Carter the number of federal employees—excluding servicemen—rose on average by 33,000 per year, under Reagan it rose by 11,000. Military expenditure was considerably increased. The Pentagon has received more than $2 trillion in 8 years. The production of new arms systems was launched and appropriations for research and design work in the military sphere have increased. But the aim—obtaining decisive military superiority over the USSR—has not been achieved. Relative parity has been preserved. Furthermore, Soviet-U.S. efforts aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation have begun and have met with tremendous approval everywhere.

The task of "rebuffing" communism and reversing national liberation movements also proved impracticable. Our stormy contradictory world is more restive than the unbroken broncos that cowboys tame to demonstrate their valor at country fairs. It did not prove possible to set spurs to communism and subjugate it to the will of the U.S. rider. One must give the administration its due: strong-arm phraseology did not prevent the administration from displaying marked caution in dangerous situations, especially when the threat of U.S. losses arose. Remember the episode when 242 Marines perished under the debris of the U.S. barracks that was blown up in Beirut in 1983. It seemed that after all their threatening statements, the U.S. Armed Forces should have dashed into Lebanon to punish the "terrorists." Instead of this, Washington ordered all U.S. servicemen loaded onto U.S. ships and soldiers and officers removed from the danger zone.

No, the people who claim that the U.S. "establishment" did not learn any lessons from the Vietnam war are not correct. It learned tactical lessons, at any rate, if not political and strategic lessons. The main conclusion was to prevent U.S. troops from becoming bogged down in combat operations on other countries' territory.

FORTUNE magazine reckons that it is hard to evaluate Reagan's presidency because it abounds with paradoxes. I believe that one of the main paradoxes is the fact that whereas the administration's successes in fulfilling its election platform are, according to Americans, extremely "mixed," its achievements in the area where it had no plans and where no one expected anything of it are striking. I mean the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations.

On the day when the instruments of ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles were exchanged in Moscow, I met an old acquaintance of mine, a Washington journalist, at the press conference: "I would not have believed it, not only 7 years ago, but even 3 years ago, if anyone had told me that this would be possible," he remarked. What has happened? The answer is simple: The world has changed, people's sentiments have changed, in the United States itself, in Western Europe, and everywhere. If you look more closely, these changes took place above all because we have changed. Our restructuring has riveted people's attention throughout the world and has revealed the Soviet Union's new face to them—a humane and democratic face. Moscow's foreign policy dictated by the principles of the new political thinking has provoked an answering wave of public desire for peace, demilitarization, and the humanization of international relations.

But let's not ascribe everything to ourselves, let's not deny our opponents the capacity to understand the realities of our age. Ultimately the U.S. Administration could have failed to heed the voice of the public and have acted in the old way. We must give President Reagan and representatives of his administration like Secretary of State Shultz their due in this. They displayed realism and an ability to abandon the usual stereotypes in order to secure accords.

The Soviet-U.S. summit dialogue, which was marked by such significant landmarks as Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow, was an important result of the positive changes. In the course of intensive contacts between the leaders of the two countries and their closest assistants, not only were concrete solutions achieved on disarmament, but greater mutual understanding also arose and mutual trust was born. It became increasingly clear that we must and can live in the single, interdependent world not by "superior strength" but on the basis of a reasonable balance of interests.

It is the custom for politicians' lives to be public property in America. The health of the president or a senator, his wife, his relations with his children, his financial position, and his favorite pastimes are all constant topics of discussion in newspapers and on television programs. Reagan did not shun this exhausting attention to his person. A great deal has been written and said in particular about his wife, the former movie actress Nancy Davis. About her "radiant look" as she stands next to the president, her firm support during times of difficulties and failures, and the fact that Ronald Reagan sometimes resolved many important questions, including cadre questions, at her prompting. When the prospects of an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations began to emerge, the press and "gossip" columns began to publish reports that Nancy was convincing her spouse to take steps in his remaining years to go down in history as a peacemaker. Was this in fact the case? It is hard to say. But if that is the case, it can be noted that Ronald Reagan's political ear is a family attribute.

"The Reagan Presidency"—that would be the title of this movie series if it were to reach the screen. The longest movie involving Reagan, lasting more than 1,000 hours—a visual chronicle of his presidency. A special U.S. Navy film crew assigned to the White House has filmed the 8 years since his inauguration in January 1981. The last frames will be shot today. Then the boxes of film will be sent to cold stores in the President Ronald Reagan Library that is planned to be constructed in Southern California. So that in years to come, from the vantage point of the future, by watching the video chronicle historians, sociologists, and writers can look at these years and the activity of a man who held the highest elected office in one of the most powerful countries of the world.

A long film, varied, contradictory. Only history itself will make the final assessment of it.

'Thoughts in Retrospect' on Reagan, U.S. Ties

PM2001162589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov, IZVESTIYA political observer: "Thoughts in Retrospect on Ronald Reagan—And Not Only on Him"]

[Text] Ronald Wilson Reagan is leaving the American and world political stage and setting off—now as a private individual—to his ranch in the mountains near Los Angeles. At midday on 20 January, another American will be pronouncing the brief oath, filled with meaning: "I, George Herbert Walker Bush, do solemnly swear to conscientiously fulfill my duties as President of the United States and support, protect, and defend the U.S. Constitution to the best of my abilities."

The Americans are not alone in bidding farewell to the old president—the whole world is with them. We associate a great deal with this man in our minds. Policies are personified by the personalities of the leaders. With the overwhelming authority the two nuclear powers possess, in the last 8 years Reagan has been one of the two main participants in and shapers of international life—alongside the Soviet leader, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The situation is unusual, however, in that this time it has not been the general secretary who has lived to see one American president follow another—as Brezhnev, for example, saw Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter—but the U.S. President who, in his first 4 years, had to deal with changing Soviet leaders—L.I. Brezhnev, Yu.V. Andropov, and K.U. Chernenko. These were the years of a most intense arms race, consciously embarked on by a conservative President and anticommunist crusader in a challenge to Moscow. But during his second term in power, which almost coincided (January 1985) with the arrival of the new leadership in the Soviet Union, Reagan, together with M.S. Gorbachev—through four summit meetings—made a turn for the better, giving hope of a new, lasting period of peace, stability, and cooperation.

A great many different things have been packed into Ronald Reagan's two terms in Presidential office. And we international affairs specialists and U.S. affairs experts have written a great many different things about him. We will leave the final summing up of results to history. For the moment, in conclusion, I would like to express some thoughts that I have not expressed before—that there are sometimes similarities between us and the Americans which we could hardly have anticipated, and sometimes differences which we would have liked to avoid.

I will begin with one similarity that came to light quite recently. When he assumed office on 20 January 1981, Reagan said that America was living beyond its means. This was possibly the strongest criticism he made of the Carter administration. However, America has never lived so recklessly in debt as it has under Reagan. The total national debt has increased by a factor of more than 2.5 during his years in power, drawing close to an astronomical $3 trillion (approximately $10,000 per capita), and the chronic federal budget deficits have hovered in the region of $150 billion. Reagan ranks lower taxes, the low inflation rate, and the creation of 19 million new work places as the main benefits of "Reaganomics." Nevertheless, public opinion polls show that the American people, while highly appraising his presidency on the whole, are more dissatisfied than satisfied with the state of the country's economy and the economic policies of the government. In this respect, his successor has inherited a very heavy legacy.

However, what is the similarity between us and them? It has become clear that we, too, are living beyond our means—and this is not the first year. This was frankly stated by N.I. Ryzhkov at a recent session of the USSR Council of Ministers, which was shown on television. We, too, have a state budget deficit—concealed until recently, but now officially recognized. This deficit is being covered by the rapidly increasing issue of money, which is not backed up by goods. The state is spending more than it is receiving. The population is earning more than it is producing. A number of our specialists believe that the state budget deficit in the Soviet Union amounts to a greater proportion of the gross national product than in the United States.

This similarity has at least one common cause—the gigantic military expenditures of both powers. Not without reason do the Americans enviously eye their junior allies and highly successful economic competitors—Japan, the FRG, and other countries in Western Europe. But it is clear to us that this similarity with the Americans—living beyond our means—unfortunately does not remove the difference in living standards, which is far from being in our favor. Comrade Ryzhkov joked that with the "deferred demand" and empty stores, money has ceased to be in short supply in our country. If only the absence of this deficit could be extended to the tens of millions of poor people! As far as the Americans are concerned, money is still the scarce item, because any other scarce item is inconceivable—any demand is satisfied immediately. People do not have to queue in any other nuclear power for household soap and washing powder. The number of private cars is 20 times higher than in our country, and that of personal computers is, I believe, thousands of times higher.

We have long practiced Pushkin's popular revelation, made in a totally different context, regarding the facts of getting increasingly left behind: "We prefer an uplifting falsehood to dozens of unpalatable truths." We are now taking a more sober look at our own life and discussing it more freely, and this is removing the urge to expose the lives of others. Yes, the flaws in capitalist society are many—they are no invention. But we cannot carve our own virtues out of others' shortcomings. The higher we are taken by self-deception, the more painful it is to come down to earth again. And the more bitter it is to learn that developed capitalist countries, which have taken these "unpleasant truths" on board, have done a better job than us of solving a number of the problems historically posed before the world by the October Revolution—social protection for the working people, medical care and education, wages and pensions.

Let us return to Reagan again—and to the subject of unexpected similarities and undesirable differences. This conservative was brought to the White House by an electorate dissatisfied with the liberalism of the sixties and seventies, which, in the American interpretation of this phenomenon, means increasing government interference in economic and social life. He came to power with the key promise of getting the Washington bureaucracy off the backs of the people and, although the bureaucracy is breeding like rabbits across the ocean and Reagan has far from succeeded in doing everything he promised, he has never tired of proclaiming his loyalty to this credo. Invoking the first words of the U.S. Constitution in his farewell television address to the American people, he said: "Our revolution was the first revolution in the history of mankind which really radically changed the course of government with just a couple of words: 'We, the people.' 'We, the people' tell the government what to do rather than it telling us what to do. 'We, the people' stand at the helm and the government is the vessel. And we decide where it will go, what route it will take, and how fast it will travel."

In the past, our response to this would have been to say: Demagogy. But now the word that springs to mind is: Paradox. Paradoxical it may be, but surely there is a similarity, an underlying connection between this credo of the American conservative and the strategic guideline for political reform now being carried out by Soviet Communists?! We will admit that this underlying connection is founded on the eternal idea of democracy which, despite all the differences in systems, means, and methods, has meant power for the people since the times of the ancient Greeks. We will admit that the administrative-edict system originating from Stalin, which he in turn adopted from the autocracy, certainly does not—whatever people may say—bring us any closer to people's power than bourgeois democracy, and certainly does not alienate the working man from the fruits of his labor any less than capitalist ownership.

At one time, one of the key premises of Marxism was the dream that the state, as an instrument of coercion, would wither away, but in the course of Stalin's practice of "building socialism" we witnessed the unprecedented absolutization of the state and the entire apparatus of edict and coercion, and the unprecedented alienation of the working people from the structures of authority, built on the hierarchical principle and totally unaccountable to the people. Elevating society and social forces, creating channels for the real expression and protection of social groups' interests, and putting the state and the government "in their place," within the framework of a law giving equal definition to citizens' rights and responsibilities—these very important, vital tasks of ours could be expressed perfectly well by Reagan's image of a people which, standing at the helm, directs the machine of government.

One of our most profound ideological and practical differences with democracies of the Western type, underlined by Reagan "personally," was our different view of the relationship between the state and the individual. They gave first place to the individual, while we gave first place to the state—that administrative-edict system wearing collectivist clothes. Even the famous slogan "Everything for the individual, everything in the name of the individual" contained, if you think about it, a certain paternalistic accent on tutelage and protection from the state, which, in its capacity as an omnipotent, omniscient force, promises to do good to the individual and the citizen, standing over him and apparently acting in circumvention of him. In recent years, however, gradually demolishing the Stalin and Brezhnev stereotypes, we have gained an understanding of the sovereignty of the human personality, and consequently have been able to find a common language with the West on an issue which we used to regard as an encroachment on our internal affairs—human rights. The recently approved Final Declaration of the Vienna Meeting is the best evidence of this—and was the hardest to achieve. Apart from anything else, the right to emigrate for those who, for one reason or another, do not wish to live in the Soviet Union is now recognized and exercised in practice. One of President Reagan's last acts was to increase the annual quota of "refugees" from the Soviet Union—from 18,000 to 25,000. Well, many of them are indeed "fleeing"—not from the oppression which existed in the past, but from our life here, in hope of a better life across the ocean. Fish seek out the deepest waters, people look for the best in life. That is their right. But "we, the people" will stay here, in our own land, in our own country to rework and restructure it. The people have nowhere to run....

Finally, some opinions on a traditionally international subject: Soviet-American relations.

Before entering the next, 21st century, mankind will mark half a century of coexisting with nuclear weapons. A peaceful coexistence (after Hiroshima and Nagasaki), but a very worrying, uncomfortable one. The choice with such a bedfellow is truly not very great: coexistence or nonexistence. This is what defined the framework of Soviet-American relations in the postwar years.

The years of the Reagan Presidency, particularly the first half, were accompanied by the question: Who is he—"ideologue" or pragmatist? This question was born of his fervently expressed conservatism. His most ardent supporters thirsted for a consistent ideologue in Reagan, and he satisfied this thirst by calling the Soviet Union an "evil empire" and proclaiming a crusade against communism. However, in the end he proved to be a pragmatist. As is expected of the leader of a bourgeois-democratic power.

When this debate arose in the United States, the Soviet Union had not even started talking about new thinking, of which the deideologization of interstate relations is an integral part. Now our approach is clear. We also profess pragmatism, preferring a different, but similar term, however—realism. Unlike fanaticism, pragmatism (or realism) in power and politics dictates sober consideration of the interests and potential of your own people and, through this, the interests of other peoples. This is what has finally brought us closer to the Americans, despite the oaths of loyalty to the policy of acting from a position of strength which continue to spill from the lips of both Reagan and Bush. Incidentally, we do not deal with them from a position of weakness. Both sides have indeed accumulated more strength than they need. The shortage of reason has been keenly felt for a long time. Now, it seems, this shortage is being overcome, and there are hopes that the most fruitful principle of interstate relations—the principle of sufficiency of reason—will be fully realized in the process of Soviet-American dialogue.

New, historic scope is opening up before us. Without belittling the merits of other peoples, I must say that the idea achieved through much suffering by the Russian people and all Soviet people—who are perhaps not as practical as some other people, but who are able from time to time to endow and illuminate mankind with the idea of a common humanity—is not least responsible for opening up this scope before mankind. This idea has long been fermenting in our minds—which is illustrated by Dostoevskiy—but the modern world, tightly bound together for better or for worse, with its dilemma "to be or not to be," is really ripe for it.

As far as the United States is concerned, with its fragmented history of changes of power and 4-year and 8-year presidencies, the climate also seems suitable for opening up new historical spaces. For the first time in the postwar years, an 8-year term in the White House by the same, Republican, party is going to be followed by at least another 4 years of this party in power. The new president shares the philosophy of his predecessor and, to all appearances, will ensure a large measure of continuity. Moreover, there can be no doubt regarding his views and approaches—he is a pragmatist. What is more, the urgent requirements of our own internal development and those of the Americans command us to continue moving along the same path.

Commentators Glazunov, Solton Review Relations

LD2001030889 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] On Friday George Bush will be sworn in to become the 41st president of the United States. This will mark the end of the 8-year presidential term of the administration of Ronald Reagan, a man whose contribution to national history has been undboubtedly impressive, and whose name has been inseparable from improvements in Soviet-American relations. Radio Moscow's political observer Viktor Glazunov and commentator Yuriy Solton are discussing the prospects for furthering these relations.

[?Glasunov] President Reagan's farewell address to the nation says the past few years have seen a qualitatively new and satsifying closeness in America's relations with the Soviet Union. Mr Reagan emphasized that he would like this closeness to be preserved. One cannot but welcome the fact that over the years of his presidential career Ronald Reagan has been able to progress from invariably describing this country as an evil empire to the realization that good relations can and must be maintained between Washington and Moscow.

[?Solton] That's right, and I'd like to point, in this connection, to such factors as the process of restructuring that have affected his country's foreign policy. And also the ongoing international changes that have been showing that in order to survive humanity should work out new approaches to global problems, adopt a new political thinking and give up the outdated stereotypes. In trying to explain in his farewell address the universal drive towards peaceful settlement of disputes by the restoration of American strength during his years in the White house, Mr Reagan, I'm afraid, slipped back to old propaganda claims.

[?Glazunov] One shouldn't underestimate the serious differences and difficulties in the work of settling disputes. But, importantly, we've already learnt a few essential lessons of how to work for better mutual understanding. The list of accomplishments is indeed impressive. It includes the five Soviet-American summits, the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, a general plan for cutbacks in strategic offensive weapons, and the joint statement that there can be no winners in a nuclear war, and that neither the United States or the Soviet Union will be seeking military superiority. Furthermore, there's been progress in the work to settle regional and humanitarian problems and observe human rights.

[?Solton] At the same time one shouldn't ignore the fact that officials in Washington are still approaching American-Soviet relations from what is known to be the position of strength.

[?Glasunov] Well, that's hardly a matter for concern. This country wouldn't like to look weak either. The main thing is to maintain a balance of strength by effecting reciprocal cuts in armed forces and arsenals, rather than building them up. In other words, it's essential to ensure that both countries' military potentials be permanently on the decline.

[?Solton] Mikhail Gorbachev's New York meeting with Ronald Reagan and George Bush last month gave grounds for optimism. The parties agreed that presidential reshuffle in the United States must leave room for continuity. Mr Bush welcomed the flexibility and innovative approach the Soviet leader had shown in his address to the United Nations on 7 December. He emphasized his great interest in further talks on arms control. And yet, the pause that has been on in the disarmament process since then is a serious source of concern.

[?Glasunov] And I believe this pause is natural, and understandable. A new administration is coming into power in the United States. It's working on a political concept of its own. I think one can well expect the entire process to move onward, not back. In his last radio address to the nation, Mr Reagan said the current trend towards lesser international tension gave every reason to believe the next generation of Americans would not have to live under the threat of nuclear holocaust. Isn't this consonant with the Soviet idea of a nuclear-free world?

[?Solton] Regrettably, Ronald Reagan shows no wish to part with his fixed idea of preventing this holocaust with the help of SDI—that space strike system. There's the grave chance of adding another possible threat to the already existing one.

[?Glazunov] You're quite right here. Penetration of weapons into outer space may reduce to nil the effect of the nuclear disarmament plans and entail a situation that has been vividly pictured by THE WASHINGTON POST—namely, that computers monitoring the space-based weapons systems may order a fatal nuclear strike so fast that one wouldn't be able to wake up the president.

[?Solton] Indeed, the legacy one U.S. President is currently leaving to another is pretty explosive, and the draft federal budget suggested by Mr Reagan provides for a further rise in military expenditure, specifically on the SDI project.

[?Glazunov] A draft is not yet law, and George Bush has announced the plan to introduce changes into it. I'm pinning considerable hopes on the possible signing of a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic arsenals to strengthen the anti-ballistic missile treaty. This would be in the interests of common security.

[?Solton] Well, since we're all in one boat, we must do everything to prevent this boat from collapsing.

[?Glazunov] Quite so. An introduction of new political thinking into international affairs has made it possible to blur the enemy image cultivated in the United States for so long a time. To be quite frank, we in this country used to do likewise. But now the American allies, too, are changing their attitudes toward the Soviet Union. A favourable impact on the U.S. foreign policy has been exerted also by the latest Soviet initiatives, like the decision to unilaterally slash Armed Forces by half a million servicemen, start without awaiting a relevant covenant, the work of scrapping chemical weapons, and be ready at any time to assess sweeping cuts in Armed Forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains. In his address to the United Nations Mikhail Gorbachev said that the George Bush Administration can rely on the Soviet Union as a partner who is ready without long pauses or backward movements to set forth the dialogue in the spirit of realism, openness and goodwill, with a view to getting concrete action on the agenda and raising the key issues of Soviet-American relations and international policy making.

Reagan, Bush Cited on Soviet Policy, Disarmament

LD2001092589 Moscow TASS in English 0914 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

President Ronald Reagan in his farewell speech before representatives of U.S. news agencies said he was certain that George Bush will work toward reducing superpower strategic nuclear arsenals.

Reagan also called for caution in arms negotiations and spoke of the need to rely on deeds rather than words.

George Bush, who is set to take the oath of office as the 41st U.S. President on Friday, [26 January] also met reporters on Thursday. Bush said one of his first acts as President would be to order a major review of U.S. relations with the Soviet Union but he did not indicate how long it will take.

He also said that the United States will also have to review its stance in conventional arms talks between NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.

Bush Disfavors 'Deadlines' for Soviet Relations

PM2101192189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Moving Forward. R. Reagan and G. Bush on Soviet-American Relations"]

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Washington: At a farewell meeting with representatives of Western news agencies, President Ronald Reagan expressed the conviction that George Bush, who is replacing him as President, "will be moving forward toward a reduction of the superpowers' nuclear strategic arsenals." R. Reagan said at the same time that it is necessary to proceed with caution in this matter. "I believe," he remarked, "that in the course of negotiations it is necessary to proceed not so much from who is saying what, but rather from how words are backed by actions, and I believe that Bush will be ready for talks based on proper consideration of realities." R. Reagan emphasized that Bush's stance on all questions coincides with the stance of his administration.

On the same day George Bush, taking up the post of President, also met with correspondents. My first step as President, he emphasized, will be to order a thorough review of Soviet-American relations. Responding to fears that this decision could slow down the progress of Soviet-American strategic offensive arms reduction talks, G. Bush declared: "I do not believe that we risk losing the momentum achieved under President Reagan. It seems to me that the Soviet side understands that I have no intention of dragging my feet, but that I simply want to make a thorough reassessment."

"We do not know yet how much time this will take," he said. "I am not in favor of setting fixed deadlines at this stage. Maybe a week or two will be sufficient simply to get a better picture." Touching on arms reduction, he said that he would not be ready by 15 February, when the strategic arms reduction talks are scheduled to resume. However, according to him, the talks can be continued on a number of technical points.

In reply to correspondents' questions about the prospects of a Soviet-American summit, Bush said that he will not be "pushed into it, because progress is not measured by whether such meetings take place." In his words, it is more important to ensure progress.

G. Bush explained that a possible delay in the elaboration of a political strategy is a "logical result" of having to replace a leadership apparatus comprising many people, which is a long process connected with the arrival of a new administration in Washington. According to G. Bush, the United States will also have to analyze its positions in respect of the talks on conventional weapons to be attended by NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. Bush also emphasized that it will take a long time to define the approaches to the problems of reaching a settlement in Central America and the Near East. Among domestic policy issues G. Bush cited the reduction of the budget deficit as "the number one problem."

President Bush Cited on 'Caution' in Relations

LD2301094889 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 23 TASS—President George Bush spoke of relations with the Soviet Union and dwelt on several domestic policy issues in an interview with TIME and NEWSWEEK magazines.

Bush told TIME magazine that there is now a tremendous opportunity in Soviet American relations and there will be no foot dragging on the part of the U.S. Administration.

Caution in Soviet-U.S. relations is a good thing for them, according to Bush.

He stressed the same approach in an interview with NEWSWEEK, saying that he was not going to take hasty decisions.

"I want to start by getting a broad assessment of the Soviet Union and where we think it's going to go and what I can do as President to further the process, to further our better relations," he said.

Bush named the federal budget deficit as the most urgent domestic policy problem.

Cohesion, 'Solid Centrism' of Bush Team Noted

LD2001132489 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS —By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

George Bush's investiture rounds up the the U.S. Administration's power transfer period, which had proceeded quite smoothly. The new President, who had accumulated much experience while serving in different government agencies, was able to form the administration's top echelon with sufficient confidence.

This process was followed attentively, of course, in the capitals of other countries. Particular interest was evinced, in Moscow included, in the appointment of the heads of key departments, responsible for security and foreign policy matters. The human factor is extremely important here and quite a few instances could be adduced to prove this assertion.

Suffice it to recall how difficult and overburdened by numerous negative factors were international relations in the initial period of Ronald Reagan's presidency. The main reasons behind the international situation's aggravation were of an objective character, of course. It is generally acknowledged, however, that personal qualities had also played their role, as well as the power struggle between the principal members of the Reagan national security team—Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, and assistant to the president for national security affairs Richard Allen.

Later, when such leaders as Secretary of State George Shultz came to the forefront, the U.S. partners were able to sense and appreciate the stabilisation of U.S. policy. Despite this, however, it is pertinent to note that genuine team work among George Shultz, Frank Carlucci and Colin Powell was achieved only at the finishing stage of the Reagan administration.

Can interaction with the new men, whom Bush has appointed to leading posts, be expected to lack negative factors of a subjective nature? There are certain grounds for such hope.

The Secretary of State James Baker, the President's assistant for national security Brent Scowcroft and Secretary of Defence John Tower are experienced leaders, reputed for their solid centrism among the American military-political elite and well known abroad. They have all gone on record for the continuation and development of the positive course in Soviet-American relations, for constructive negotiations on the reduction and limitation of armaments. These pronouncements have been noted and assessed accordingly in Moscow.

The statement made by George Bush, who will apparently set the tune in orienting U.S. foreign policy towards constructive continuity in Soviet-American affairs, allows us to expect that relations between the two great powers will be accorded the attention they deserve due to their really unique significance. A no little number of positive achievements have been recorded in recent years, but completion of work on the treaty to cut strategic offensive weapons by 50 per cent and on the convention to do away with chemical weapons, consummation of agreement at negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons, are even more dimensional tasks than everything done so far. Their solution will require much efforts and, what is more important, much political will from those who make decisions on which the security of both the USSR and the United States, of all the world, for that matter, is hinged.

Commentary Calls for Minimum Pause in Dialogue

LD2001135189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] President-elect George Bush will be sworn in as the 41st president of the United States of America in Washington at 2000 hours Moscow time. The change of leaders in the United States naturally sparks quite a few guesses about the new administration's policy priorities. The Soviet Union, too, is trying to figure out what relations with America will be like under Mr Bush. Here is a commentary from Yuriy Solton:

A recent opinion poll in this country showed the great majority believes Soviet-American relations are of great importance for easing international tension. Many feel the relations could be better. A mere 15 per cent describe them as good. At the same time, the majority of 64 per cent hopes Soviet-American relations will improve under President George Bush.

With Mr Ronald Reagan as President, George Bush took an active part in hammering out a policy that helped our two nations sign the INF Treaty, scrapping two classes of nuclear missiles, outlining more arms reductions, and jointly looking for possibilities to unblock regional conflicts. Mr Bush says he will build relations with the Soviet Union on continuity, stability, and predictability. Well, this is both reasonable and acceptable. Moscow wants the same. The main thing is using the chance and bringing down to a minimum the natural pause in the dialogue.

The new president is getting advice. Some people are telling him America must be on the look out for relations with Moscow. They tell him much will depend on the further restructuring in the Soviet Union. But much will also depend on reciprocity. The United States, too, needs foreign policy restructuring. The strength approach will take America nowhere. Will the new Administration reply to the Soviet decisions to unilaterally slash both Armed Forces and defense spending, abolish chemical weapons, and turn space into a scene of peaceful cooperation rather than Star Wars? If it replied, the Soviet Union could judge America's intentions. We would like to hope an agreement will be signed before this year is out to cut by half the strategic offensive arms of our two nations within the ABM Treaty.

There are still great differences between the Soviet Union and the United States. No wonder. For too long Soviet-American relations had been stamped with hostility and confrontation. But over the past few years of the Reagan Administration, the efforts of both nations have brought about changes for the better in both the substance and atmosphere of relations between Moscow and Washington. We believe a good foundation was laid. The Bush Administration, as Mikhail Gorbachev said, will find in the Soviet Union a partner who is ready without any long pauses to have more dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness, and goodwill.

Bush Administration Inherits 'Sound Relationship'

LD2001153289 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 20 Jan 89

[From the "Update" program with Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Text] It's generally agreed that the Bush Administration has inherited a sound working relationship with the Soviet Union. The only question is whether or not this administration will be able to take advantage of what positive has been achieved in U.S.-Soviet relations over the past 3 years or so.

A report released this week in Washington said George Bush should be able to complete a U.S.-Soviet treaty on strategic arms, negotiate a reduction in conventional arms in Europe, and eliminate chemical weapons. The report, released by a group of American congressional and foreign policy experts, said the incoming government's top foreign policy priority should be the START treaty for reducing strategic arms.

More than 125 members of Congress, present and former officials of the Reagan Administration, and foreign policy experts were interviewed for their views on Washington's foreign policy objectives. Their report, reflecting a consensus of views, stressed the importance of continuing START talks without undue delay, as well as negotiations on conventional forces and chemical weapons. The report noted, however, that these efforts would advance George Bush's other interests in modernizing American strategic forces and in developing a strategic defense. Soviet and American officials have often stressed they are interested in reaching early agreement in those areas. It is hard to see, however, how modernization of American strategic forces and development of a strategic defense could be conducive to successful efforts in reaching an early START agreement.

In addition to those areas mentioned, progress is possible on a long-awaited accord banning nuclear testing. During his confirmation hearings in the Senate, secretary of state designate James Baker said this week the United States and the Soviet Union were on the verge of reaching an agreement for verifying two nuclear test ban treaties. He told the panel that the verification procedures on the 1976 peaceful nuclear explosions treaty were completely resolved and those on the 1974 nuclear test ban treaty, limiting underground tests to 150 kilotonnes, (?is) nearly settled. George Bush, however, wanted to review U.S. negotiation positions in arms control talks before resuming such talks. Hopefully, the review period won't be too long so as not to lose the momentum of arms control efforts which have been so successful over the past 3 years.

Commentary Points to New Global 'Awareness'

LD2201022389 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 21 Jan 89

["Moscow Viewpoint," by Valentin Zorin—read by announcer]

[Text] The swearing in of George Bush as the 41st President of the United States brings into focus the continuity of the American policies as regard to the Soviet Union. Recently I discussed the subject with the former secretary of state, George Shultz, in his State Department office, said Valentin Zorin, and asked him whether in his view the Bush Administration would pursue the same policy toward the Soviet Union as the one pursued by the Reagan Administration in the last few years, or should we expect a long pause to be followed by serious adjustment. Mr Shultz was quite positive that the American policies as regards the Soviet Union would see neither a pause nor a major change. He invoked his long acquaintance with George Bush and James Baker, who has since been appointed secretary of state. Mr Shultz has frequently discussed these issues with both of them; a pause was out of the question, he added, since the President-elect had been directly involved in shaping his country's policy toward the Soviet Union and knew all the specifics.

Looking back at the talks, one cannot but note the striking difference between the present situation in both Washington and Moscow and the one at the beginning of Reagan's presidency. At the time the White House stigmatized the Soviet Union as "the evil empire," and the Pentagon was planning a crusade against it. Changes that have since occurred seem to be mostly due to the fact that politicians and the general public alike are increasingly aware of the need to prevent a nuclear war.

The 80's can go down in history as an awareness decade. That awareness couldn't but lead the top politicians in Washington, Moscow, London and Beijing to certain conclusions. In the 80's the exorbitant cost of the arms race has proved too heavy a burden for even the highest developed countries. The problems of environmental pollution and newly emerged disease have become more acute. No nation can avert these threats single-handed. What was the knowledge of few in the early 80's is now becoming common knowledge.

Moscow has recognized this new political reality and responded to it with restructuring and new political thinking; and this realization has also been shown by both sides in the current Soviet-American dialogue. There is every cause for hope that the trends in Soviet-American relations that have revealed themselves over the recent years will continue. It is with this hope that the Soviet Union greets the new American Presidency.

Shishlin Calls Bush Team Conservative, Pragmatic

LD2201222689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 22 Jan 89

[No video available]

[Text] The new U.S. President has now been inaugurated after several days of celebration. Tomorrow George Bush faces his first working day in the White House. In this connection we are going to talk about the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, and our correspondent Miroslav Bouda has asked Nikolay Shishlin, who is on the staff of the CPSU Central Committee, for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Bouda] Nikolay Vladimirovich, George Bush, the 41st U.S. President, has taken up office, and therefore it is relevant to ask whether this will produce any changes in Soviet-U.S. relations?

[Shishlin in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] As you know, last December Mikhail Gorbachev had a meeting in New York not only with Ronald Reagan but also with President-elect George Bush. Although these were not talks in the full sense of the word, nonetheless this meeting indicated that there is a continuity of policy between the former and the new administration. In addition there is the program of talks between the Soviet Union and the U.S., both on curbing the arms race, tackling regional conflicts, and, last but not least, on humanitarian questions and bilateral relations. To my way of thinking we have to expect a certain pause which is necessary to weigh up where we go from here. The fact that Bush has drawn up his Cabinet does not, in itself, mean that his policies have yet been worked out, so I do not expect any working talks to get underway in, for example, the next 2 months. As far as the strategic disarmament talks in Geneva are concerned, they might be resumed in mid-March or thereabouts, I would say.

[Bouda] The general feeling is that the Bush Administration is going to be rather more pragmatic than Reagan's was. What can we surmise from this as far as nuclear disarmament is concerned?

[Shishlin] I share this feeling about the Bush Administration. It remains a fact, though, that although a lot has been said about the Reagan Administration's ideology, after Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, Moscow, and New York, the outgoing Administration, too, demonstrated over a period of time its ability to take a realistic approach to tackling disarmament issues. Now, from whatever angle we look at Bush's team, we can see they are pragmatists with a conservative hallmark. I think that they are people we can do business with, get round the table with, and I hold out hopes of gradual, if unspectacular, progress in improving Soviet-U.S. relations. From the viewpoint of new political thinking, of course, this is positive, and will contribute to real steps in implementing broadly-based cooperation on a global scale. [end recording]

Poll on Bush Reveals Soviet People 'Cautious'

LD2001153189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] George Bush, the U.S. President-elect, takes up office today. What is the attitude of Soviet citizens to him? This was the topic of a public opinion poll of the Sociology Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Valeriy Semenovich Korabelnikov, doctor of philosophical sciences, is at our microphone.

[Korabelnikov] Our poll was conducted in various towns of the Russian Federation by personal interviews immediately after it became known that George Bush won the presidential race. The questions of interviewers were answered by around 800 people, and judging from our data the attitude of the Soviet people to the new President of the United States boils down to the following: It can be described as anticipatory and cautious, based on the principle of wait and see.

The U.S. and also Soviet press writes a lot about the continuity of Bush's policy with regard to the policy conducted by Reagan. But in spite of this, just a little over a third of the Soviet people who were asked consider whether Bush will pursue exactly the same policy toward the Soviet Union as did Reagan—more than 40 per cent—found it difficult to answer this question. At the same time around 18 per cent of the participants in the poll consider that Bush will conduct a more favorable policy toward the Soviet Union.

Of course, many are now worried over the question as to how the Bush Administration will approach the conclusion of the treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. We asked our respondents whether George Bush would be prepared to sign such a treaty with our country. Less than one-third of those who were asked reckon that he will be prepared to do this, and one in 10 voiced the opposite view. The rest abstained from giving an answer.

As is clear from the results of the poll, Bush will have to prove to our people through specific actions that he is a true successor to Reagan in developing Soviet-U.S. relations and in eliminating nuclear weapons.

Baker Outlines Foreign Policy Plans at Hearings

LD1901174589 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 19 Jan 89

[From the "Review of International Developments" program presented by Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Text] In other news developments, the testifying at his confirmation hearings in the United States Senate [as heard], Secretary of State designate James Baker outlined his foreign policy objectives and specifically touched on the issues of United States-Soviet relations. Was his approach to foreign policy very different from his predecessor? Those listening to James Baker's remarks on foreign policy found he broke little new ground from the Reagan administration policies. He repeatedly emphasized his intention to take a bipartisan approach to the formulation of American foreign policy. But, with a solid majority of Democrats in both chambers of Congress it would be surprising if he intended otherwise.

He told members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the United States had an interest in seeing Mikhail Gorbachev succeed in the policy of perestroyka, but at the same time, he suggested caution in dealing with the Soviet Union. Referring to the oft-repeated maxim President Reagan applied to U.S.-Soviet relations, James Baker said, trust but verify was a very good standard.

Committee members urged the incoming secretary of state to press for quick resumption of arms control talks with the Soviet Union. One lawmaker called suggestions for delay unnecessary and unwise. Committee chairman Claiborne Pell told Baker there is no more urgent priority facing you than to continue the momentum in arms control talks with the Soviet Union, most particularly in the area of strategic nuclear weapons. The START talks on a 50 percent reduction of long-range nuclear missiles have been adjourned since last November, and the incoming American Administration is reviewing U.S.-Soviet relations, including arms control talks.

Senator Pell and other lawmakers urged that the START talks be resumed promptly and without linkage to other negotiations, such as upcoming multilateral talks on reducing conventional arms in Europe, which are to begin next March.

Jesse Helms Unhappy With INF Treaty Verification

LD1901194889 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—By TASS military commentator Vladimir Bogachev:

North Carolina Republican Senator Jesse Helms, who had earned notorious fame by his last year's noisy campaign agianst the ratifications of the Soviet-American INF treaty, is again trying to put in question the agreement's effectiveness, is alleging that conflictual situations had appeared in the course of its verification.

In a letter addressed to the White House Helms claims that there is "a continuing pattern of Soviet lack of attention to their obligations" assumed under the treaty, that the USSR does not allow U.S. inspectors to use X-ray control equipment. As a result of this, he alleges, "the United States has been totally unable to monitor effectively or verify whether the Soviets have continued to manufacture and deploy perhaps dozens of banned SS-20 missiles from the Votkinsk factory."

Commenting on Senator Helms' letter, a spokesman of the State Department said that the United States was so far content with the implementation of the INF Treaty. Nevertheless, the Western press continues to publish reports which distort the picture of the verification process.

Competent Soviet representatives have noted in connection with Helms' letter that no unresolvable problems had cropped up in the work of the special bilateral verification commission. At present, for instance, it is discussing questions pertaining to the use of individual types of X-ray equipment at missiles plants in the USSR and the United States. Such coordination was envisaged in the verification protocol. The progress achieved so far gives every ground to expect that concrete parameters will be fixed shortly for X-ray verification equipment at missile factories.

Thus, the official representatives of both sides, including those that are dealing with the INF Treaty directly, have expressed satisfaction with the progress of verification and see no reasons for mutual accusations.

What is then the reason for Senator Helms' desire to stir up trouble around the INF Treaty by insinuations about the intransigence of the Russians? Perhaps it is explained by the forthcoming discussion of the U.S. military budget in the course of which the Pentagon hopes to get new military appropriations by using the "Soviet military menace" bogey to intimidate U.S. legislators?

Story of Inaugural Press Pass Denials Recounted

LD2001100289 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Andrey Fedyashin:

Festivities preceding the inauguration of the 41st president of the United States George Bush were in full swing when reporters of the TASS Bureau in Washington received, at long last, accreditations to a number of major events.

But to the surprise and consternation of the TASS correspondents, some of them had already expired and, most importantly, the accreditations did not include passes to the inauguration ceremony which will be held on Capitol Hill on Friday.

The reporters managed to get passes, not with official assistance, but thanks to the solidarity of their American colleagues who learned about the incident.

Although all applications had been handed in in advance, reporters of TASS and Soviet newspapers were denied accreditation in a postcard sent by the inauguration committee on January 10.

The reporters several times tried to find out why Soviet newsmen were denied the possibility of covering "the event of the year" in the U.S. but each time committee member Victoria Scalli answered that there was no more room for the press and that all accreditations had been distributed, adding that "it's a cruel world."

The last time a TASS correspondent received such an answer was on January 17.

However, the "cruel world" miraculously changed when amazed American colleagues learned about the mishap. They described the accreditation denial as unjust and outrageous and demanded explanations from the inauguration committee.

Then followed numerous interviews to newspapers, radio and television networks and numerous calls to high-placed officials. The committee began to receive unpleasant publicity.

The miracle happened at the end of the working day on Thursday when a colleague from the Dallas MORNING NEWS visited, yet again, the committee's accreditation director Jim Moore who Scalli said had taken the decision to deny accreditation.

Moore told the reporter that there are available passes for TASS.

Later, Moore apologised to the TASS reporters and, adding mystery to the saga, said that this is the third inauguration in his career and that he could not have forgotten TASS newsmen.

He described the completely opposite statement by his colleague as a misunderstanding.

The bureau will keep the denial postcard as a souvenir and are grateful to the American colleagues for their assistance and sympathy.

A U.S. reporter described this as international glasnost, but the Washington correspondents of the newspapers PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA who have still not received a single pass to the festivities can hardly favour such glasnost.

Journalists 'Bewildered' by Refusal

LD2001151089 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 20 Jan 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Soviet journalists in a message to their American colleagues have expressed bewilderment and deep regret in connection with the refusal of the U.S. Inauguration Committee to allow representatives of the Soviet mass media to attend the inauguration of George Bush.

The board of the USSR Union of Journalists uniting 86,000 Soviet journalists, writing to the board of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the board of the New England Society of Newspaper Editors, pointed out that the "decision taken by the Inauguration Committee seems strange to us in the context of the latest developments in the Soviet-American relations and hinders our journalists in the USA from exercising their professional duties.

Actually it is against the interests of the Soviet people who are missing a significant amount of information on a major event in the American life."

"The fruitful ties between our organizations and the spirit of professional mutual understanding at our conferences give us hope that you will support our opinion and convey it to the public of your country," the USSR Union of Journalists board said in the message.

Soviet Journalists Union Protests

LD2101214389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Excerpts] [Unidentified announcer] As you know, comrades, the 41st President of the United States has been sworn in, and he is George Bush. [passage omitted]

U.S. TV programs were virtually totally devoted to the ceremonies connected with George Bush's inauguration as U.S. President. Unfortunately, Soviet correspondents were absent from all these events and ceremonies. They were not admitted. They were quite simply refused accreditation. With regard to this, the USSR Union of Journalists voiced its protest. In a letter to the Association of American Publishers, Soviet journalists expressed surprise and regret regarding this decision of the organizational committee for inaugural events connected with George Bush's accession to office. Indeed, I, for my part, and all of us, journalists, subscribe to this surprise and obvious regret.

China

Beijing Prepares for Visit from Shevardnadze

OW2101010889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] (Boboyan), who was assigned by the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting as its resident correspondent in Beijing, has arrived at his post.

(Boboyan), a Sinologist who had worked at the Chinese-language department of this station for years, last visited China 15 years ago.

In his first dispatch datelined Beijing, he pointed out: Beijing 15 years ago and today's Beijing are quite different. Beijing now has super hotels, high-rise residential buildings, seven-lane roads between such buildings, and underpasses. Beijing residents, wearing beautiful clothes, are now hard to recognize, and everyone appears to be jubilant. They are not afraid to contact foreigners.

(Boboyan) cited concrete figures to show the improvement of China's economy and the Chinese people's living standards in recent years, and pointed out economic problems and the measures adopted by the Chinese Government to cope with them.

In his first dispatch datelined Beijing, the special correspondent of this station pointed out: In recent days, the Chinese media have stressed the increasing frequency of Soviet-Chinese contacts in various fields. Beijing is making preparations for Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to China in early February, the first by a Soviet foreign minister in the past 30 years. During his visit, he will continue to prepare for a Soviet-Chinese summit [gao ji hui wu], which is scheduled for the first half of this year.

Commentary on Shevardnadze's Upcoming PRC Visit

OW2201102789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Glebov commentary; from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: Both the Soviet Union and China believe that the planned visit to China in early February by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is an important part of the preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit. Not long ago, Shevardnadze told the French paper LE FIGARO that the Soviet Union believes that normalizing relations with China, its great neighboring country, is of great significance. Glebov, a station commentator, has the following comment:

Abnormal relations existed for a long time between the Soviet Union and China, and the two socialist countries at times went so far as to openly confront each other. Now the situation has changed. Relations between the two countries are improving, and political dialogue between them is being actively expanded. Under such circumstances, the two countries are seeking contacts not only concerning their bilateral relations, but also concerning all international problems. All this has brought the two countries closer.

Both the Soviet Union and China are carrying out major reform of their economic and political systems, and both of them have drawn up plans for revitalizing their socialist societies. Although the two countries do not copy from each other, they have earnestly studied each other's experience, learned what the other has accomplished, and tried not to make the other's mistakes. Moreover, similar problems in each other's internal affairs and economic development have also brought the two countries closer in their foreign policies, and in many respects have been decisive in making the two countries share similar views on major international issues.

In their foreign relations, both the Soviet Union and China have promoted extensive international cooperation needed to solve the global problems of mankind, believing that it is of special importance to ensure mankind's existence and save world civilization. The two countries' similar stand on destroying nuclear and chemical weapons, on banning the space arms race, and on other basic international issues is a good example of their similar views in general.

Another thing that should be mentioned here is that both the Soviet Union and China have made a commitment not to be the first in using nuclear weapons, and agreed to respect the nuclear-free status of the South Pacific.

Moscow and Beijing are continuing to expand their contacts and political dialogue, and the foreign ministers of the two countries have begun regular consultations. We hope that the forthcoming visit to China by the Soviet foreign minister, and the preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit, will provide a new driving force for the development of relations between the two countries.

Commission on Border River Cooperation Meets

LD2101165289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0955 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Beijing, 21 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Oleg Mastryukov reports:

In the spirit of further broadening and deepening Soviet-Chinese cooperation in the sphere of the joint and integrated use of the water resources of the border stretches of the Argun and Amur rivers, the third meeting has taken place in the Chinese capital of the Soviet-Chinese commission for directing the drafting of a scheme for the integrated use of the border stretches of the Argun and Amur rivers. The protocol that was signed indicates that the sides assessed with satisfaction the results of the joint work carried out in 1988 and confirmed the 1989 plan for the commission's activities.

Appraising the road travelled by the Soviet-CHinese commission, I can say that we have moved forward very substantially, P.A. Polad-Zade, USSR first deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources and chairman of the Soviet part of the commission, pointed out in an interview with a TASS correspondent. Last year saw the carrying out of a whole complex of hydrological and topographical research, which has laid the foundations for accomplishing many practical tasks. Among these, one must single out the use of the rivers' power potential, the fight against flooding, ensuring normal shipping, and the conservation and multiplication of fish stocks.

Chzhan Tsunyuan, PRC vice minister of water resources and chairman of the Chinese part of the commission, commended the commission's work and the atmosphere in which it took place. The sides, he said, have conducted a profound all-round examination of the issues pertaining to the future hydraulic engineering installations of joint construction on the rivers in the interests of ensuring effective economic management on their banks, preserving the environment, and solving ecological problems.

Sharp Increase Noted in Xinjiang Trade Volume

OW2001045889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Listener friends, both the Soviet Union and China have been benefited by Soviet-Chinese border trade. This fact is verified by the sharp increase in the total volume of trade between the USSR's Kazakstan and China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in 1989. In this connection our station reporter Yakovlev writes:

When I visited Kazakstan recently, I interviewed leaders of many organizations and departments there, such as the Foreign Trade Bureau under the Foreign Ministry of the Kazakstan Republic, which is an organization in charge of border trade with China, border outposts, and customs offices. The leaders whom I interviewed held that there were good prospects for border trade between the Soviet Union and China. The total volume of trade between Kazakstan and China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was 16 million Swiss francs in 1986 and 1987. In August 1988 a trade and economic delegation from Kazakstan signed a trade contract worth 42 million Swiss francs in Urumqi. Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has also signed trade bartering agreements with other republics of the USSR, such as the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Kirgiz, and Turkmen SSRs.

In 1988 many trade exhibitions were held in the Soviet Union and China. At these exhibitions many contracts were signed by enterprises of these republics and Xinjiang.

There were other factors that contributed to the development of border trade. In an interview with (Yeslikov), head of a customs station at (Gulgos), (Yeslikov) mentioned some of the factors. He said: The governments of Kazakstan and other Central Asian Soviet republics established their own special foreign trade organizations in 1988. These organizations were given power to trade directly with Xinjiang. This markedly simplified the process of developing bilateral relations. In the past much time was wasted because trade agreements would have to be approved by the All-Union Eastern Foreign Trade Company in Moscow. Now local authorities can solve the problems of what to export to China. Our station's staff has personally witnessed the growth of border trade between the Soviet Union and China. Two years ago only 40 goods-carrying trucks passed through our station each month, but today 40 trucks pass through in only half a day.

Comrade (Yeslikov) noted in conclusion: I think our station will be busy in 1989. We are happy about it because this shows that the relations of our two friendly neighboring countries are developing.

Taiwan Obstacle to Chinese-American Relations

OW2201105989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] TRUD, the organ of the Soviet trade unions, has analyzed Sino-U.S. relations with reference to the Taiwan issue, which this Soviet paper describes as a major political obstacle to the further development of these relations.

TRUD says that China's readiness to reunify the motherland as soon as possible is constructive and has the support of all genuine patriots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

TRUD goes on to say: Washington is playing a double-dealing trick with respect to the Taiwan issue. Let us remind you that in 1979 the United States and Taiwan severed their diplomatic relations, but that in reality Taiwan's economic and trade activities with the United States occupy an important place among U.S. trade partners in Asia. U.S.-Taiwan joint military exercises have never stopped, and U.S. warships have not refrained from entering Taiwan's ports. In addition, Taiwan military personnel have received training at the Pentagon and on U.S. bases in third countries.

TRUD quotes Fei Xiaotong, vice chairman of the Chinese NPC Standing Committee, as saying: It is hoped that the new president, Bush, will take necessary measures to help achieve the goal of China's reunification rather than following the policy of merely paying lip service as pursued by leaders of the previous Washington administration.

Zhao Ziyang Issues Statement on China Situation

PM1901141989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "China: Zhao Ziyang Statement"]

[Text] The present political and economic situation in China may be characterized as good, and the problems which the country has encountered are those which arose in the process of advancement and can be resolved gradually, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has stated on the results of a recent inspection tour of Hebei, Henan, and Hubei Provinces.

It would be a mistake to cast doubt on the need for the reform and expansion of foreign ties because certain difficulties have appeared. It would be an even more glaring mistake to lose faith in socialism because of those difficulties, Zhao Ziyang noted. We must work for a unity of views throughout the party and firmly set about developing the socialist commodity economy and improving work in the ideological and political sphere.

Northeast Asia

Nakasone Cites Gorbachev on Troop Reductions

OW1901134389 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] According to our Moscow correspondent Morohoshi, former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone on 19 January met with a group of reporters accompanying him in Moscow. At the meeting he disclosed that the troop reduction plan in the Soviet eastern region, announced by the Soviet Union, does not include the Far Eastern and Maritime Kray region, which would have a great impact on Japan.

The troop reduction plan announced by the Soviet Union breaks down to 240,000 in the European region, 60,000 in the southern region, and 200,000 in the eastern region. However, since it was not made clear whether or not the troop withdrawal from the eastern region would include the Far Eastern and Maritime Kray region, in which Japan takes interest, interpretations on this matter are divided.

In this regard, former Prime Minister Nakasone said General Secretary Gorbachev explained to him that under the troop reduction plan for the Soviet eastern region, 200,000 troops deployed in the vicinity of Mongolia will be reduced.

When Mr Nakasone asked that troop reductions be carried out in the Far Eastern and Maritime Kray region as well, General Secretary Gorbachev reportedly said that troop reductions should be carried out with the whole region taken into consideration.

The Soviet leader reportedly told Mr Nakasone that, because there are U.S. military bases in Okinawa, South Korea, and the Philippines, troop reductions in the Far Eastern and Maritime Kray region are not a simple matter. He then reportedly indicated the view that under the present circumstances troop reductions in the Far Eastern and Maritime Kray region are difficult to carry out.

In this regard, Former Prime Minister Nakasone said that the 500,000 troop reduction plan announced by the Soviet Union is to be carried out in those regions where the Soviet Union is believed to be superior in terms of conventional forces.

Regarding the Far Eastern and Maritime Kray region, he said the Soviets believe that the U.S. naval power is superior to the Soviet force. Mr Nakasone added that he had the impression that the Soviets might be setting their sights on tying their troop reduction plan to a withdrawal of U.S. military bases.

Commentary Views Growing Japanese Defense Budget

LD2101054489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] According to KYODO reports, the Japanese government has confirmed the budget for the new fiscal year, which begins in Japan on 1 April. In particular, it provides for an increase in military expenditure in 1989 of 5.2 percent over the preceding year. At the micophone is Sergey Pravdin, our commentator:

[Pravdin] In the new financial year, Japan's direct military expenditure will, for the first time since the war, reach almost $32 billion. As the ASAHI SHIMBUN remarks, this increase is a direct consequence of the constant U.S. pressure on Japan. The United States is persistently seeking to ensure that the Land of the Rising Sun accepts much more in the way of military obligations in the Pacific Ocean region.

It should also be said that these efforts on the part of the U.S. Administration meet with understanding and support in well-defined Japanese quarters which are striving to ensure that the country's military might corresponds to her economic power. In the new financial year, Japan—again for the first time since the war—will outstrip a number of the leading countries of NATO in terms of her military spending, and will occupy third place in the world, after the United States and the USSR.

As the Japanese press notes, the government of Prime Minister Takeshita has resolved to satisfy virtually all the requests made by the National Self-Defense agency. The newspapers voice the opinion that Parliament will leave the military budget unchanged. In the first place, the ruling Liberal Democatic Party has a healthy majority; and in the second place, the new budget adheres firmly to the decision passed in 1976 by the government itself that Japan's military expenditure should not exceed 1 percent of the gross national product.

While this rule has been broken in the last two budgets, when, for the first time, Japan's military spending exceeded (albeit by a small amount) 1 percent, in 1989 the Takeshita government has returned to the previous decision. But that is the formal aspect.

In recent years, in contrast to most other capitalist powers' economies, thanks to a number of factors, the Japanese economy has been developing generally successfully. The GNP annual growth has been very significant. And therefore the country's military budget has been increasing each year by a significant sum.

In line with the U.S.-Japanese security pact, Japan has already assumed a significant proportion of the expenses involved in the upkeep of the U.S. troops and the Pentagon's military bases in Japan. The Pentagon currently has more than 120 facilities of various sorts on the

Japanese islands. Furthermore, I have had occasion to see the barbed wire that surrounds some of them in many of Japan's biggest cities, including Tokyo.

The administration of the Self-Defence Corps has assumed a number of important functions that were previously fulfilled by the Pentagon in the Pacific Ocean region. And now, a new military program for Japan is being drawn up, which will to go into force in 1991, and in line with which these functions will be extended still further. The new military budget confirmed by the Japanese Government is designed to ensure this extension.

Japan's Decision To Join Military Exercise Noted

OW2201170489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Commentary by military observer Vinogradov]

[Text] According to reports from Tokyo, the Japanese Defense Agency has decided that the Japanese Armed Forces will take part in the largest-ever American military exercise in the Pacific Ocean. In this connection, our station's military observer Vinogradov writes:

The military exercise codenamed (?RIMPAC) is planned to be held in early September this year, ending around late October or early November. The scale of this exercise is the largest ever. The United States intends to use the waters between the Aleutian Islands and the South China Sea to conduct this exercise. Not only forces from the United States proper will take part in this exercise but also those stationed on the Hawaiian Islands, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and the Mariana Islands.

Large-sized American military (?groups), 4 aircraft carrier battle groups, 3 infantry divisions, marine divisions, and some 500 aircraft will take part in the exercise. This exercise includes an attack on the Kuril Islands, occupation of [words indistinct], surveillance of the Seas of Okhotsk and Japan as well as the Pacific sea routes, and assault against coastal targets. These activities indicate the (?RIMPAC) military exercise is an overtly provocative one. According to intentions of the Pentagon, all allies of the United State should take part in this exercise.

The U.S. decision to conduct this exercise has been condemned by nations in the Asia-Pacific region. The United States' allies from NATO planning to take part in the military exercise are not in a hurry to declare their stand. However, looking at reports in the news media, the Japanese Defense Agency has been resolute in deciding on taking part in the exercise. Tokyo, it seems, is also worried that its direct participation will arouse the discontent of the Japanese public as well as neighboring countries. Therefore, when the Japanese Defense Agency made this decision, it gave a lot of excuses. However, these excuses do not reflect the real intentions of this decision.

Potential for Economic Ties With Japan Explored

OW2001045289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 17 Jan 89

[By correpondent Potapov]

[Text] In Japan, there is a saying that a close, unrelated person is better than a distant relative. For Japan, such unrelated persons or neighbors are not numerous, and among them, the closest of neighbors is the Soviet Union. Thus, it is but natural for Japanese public opinion to be very much concerned about the present state of Soviet-Japanese economic and trade exchanges, an important stabilizing factor for overall bilateral relations.

This was gathered from my recent conservations with representatives of Japanese business circles and social organizations. All of them unanimously told me that the present level of trade and economic relations between industrial powers Japan and the USSR is disproportionate to the potentials of the two countries.

About 10 years ago, Japan ranked second among advanced capitalist countries, which were major trading partners of the USSR. At present, the proportion of trade with Japan clearly falls behind West Germany, Britain, France, Canada, and other countries. This was the result of factors such as a cutback on exports to the USSR caused by the Japanese Government's regulation and sanctions on the export of industrial equipment and certain other products of [word indistinct] companies to the USSR.

Japanese business and social circles have shown great interest in the restructuring of the Soviet economy and the development plans for the Soviet Far East and Siberia. They have impatiently watched the development of exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States and other West European countries. They understand the great desire on the part of the USSR to establish vigorous trade and economic relations with Japan, which was once again given substance in General Secretary Gorbachev's UN speech. Naturally, under such conditions, there has been a growing clamor in Japan that working-level bilateral exchanges be immediately pulled out from their state of stagnation, and that obstacles to bilateral exchanges, led by trade regulations, be promptly removed. This has also been pointed out recently by Tetsuo Sato, Chairman of the Japan-Soviet Trade Association.

Like Sato, many Japanese businessmen believe that the Soviet Union has been and still is a bountiful source of raw material, and an important market. The economies of the USSR and Japan can develop without any accute competition and conflict by undertaking mutually beneficial exchanges. Past records have convinced many leaders of Japanese big business that the Soviet Union is a profitable and dependable partner with tremendous potentials for the future. This is the reason why, though a number of big companies are still cautious, they wish to develop relations with Japan's northern neighbor, the USSR, and establish a new setup for cooperation.

For instance, there are plans to set up joint ventures, which are not easy to implement but are very promising for both countries. Two months ago, a contract to set up a joint venture was signed in Moscow between the Soviet Ministry of Chemical Industry and Japan's Mitsubishi Company. The contract involves the building of a chemical complex consisting of 15 plants at a site 30 kilometers from Nizhneyartovsk in Western Siberia. Other projects are being studied and considered with Japanese companies. In other words, progress and good prospects are the declared goals. What forms these plans will take in actuality is another question.

Uno Fails To Influence Europeans on USSR Trade

PM2001131989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent I. Latyshev dispatch: "Opinions Diverged"]

[Text] Tokyo, 18 Jan—Japan's Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno has ended his tour of West Europe which lasted several days.

According to the common opinion of Japanese commentators, the main purpose of the Japanese visitor's conversations with statesmen in Italy, the FRG, and Britain was to clarify their position toward the Soviet Union and to brief them on the Japanese Government's views. The interest shown by the leaders of Japanese policy in the recent movement in West European countries' mutual relations with the Soviet Union is not accidental. This movement worries government circles in Tokyo, since they detect noticeable differences between these countries' positions and the position of Japan, whose government, as is well known, is in no hurry to "thaw" its relations with the Soviet Union, using the "unresolved territorial question" as a pretext.

The most important objective of the Japanese foreign minister's latest trip to Europe was to enlist support for the groundless territorial claims made by Japan against the Soviet Union, and to exert a restraining influence on the expansion of economic contacts with the USSR.

Since Uno's talks with leading figures in the three West European countries were confidential, it is hard to judge to what extent the Japanese foreign minister succeeded in achieving his goals. It is, however, worth noticing that even Japanese conservative observers are not in a position to deny that Uno failed to persuade his interlocutors in even a single one of the three West European countries to support the idea of "freezing" economic ties with the Soviet Union.

Uno's visit to West Europe thus offers further proof of the great response generated by restructuring in the USSR and by the ideas of "new thinking" in the sphere of international relations.

NOVOSTI Plans To Establish Bureau in Seoul

SK2101115889 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 19 Jan 89 p 1

[Report by correspondent Choe Chol-chu from Moscow]

[Text] On 16 January, the Soviet authorities disclosed that almost timed to coincide with the establishment of a trade mission in Seoul, they had studied the question of establishing the Seoul bureau of a Soviet press agency and stationing its correspondent there, and had unofficially informed the Korean Government of their intention.

In an interview, (Nikolay Pedin), general director of the Asian department of NOVOSTI, one of the biggest Soviet news agencies, said that "if a Soviet-Korean trade mission is established, a possibility for an exchange of reporters between the two countries will be examined" and that "NOVOSTI will study the question of calling Korea by its official national name."

He further said that "it is expected that an exchange of reporters between the Soviet Union and Korea will be put into practice within the lines of establishing a trade mission" and that "NOVOSTI plans to add a staff member to the Japanese unit in Moscow and assign him to Korean affairs." He added that as news on Korean affairs increases, the question of establishing a Korean unit can be taken into consideration in the future.

Making clear that the issue is at the negotiating stage of unofficially conveying the matter of opening a NOVOSTI Seoul bureau to the Korean Government, he said that if the Seoul bureau is set up, it would supply information on trade affairs between the two countries and news and commentaries on Soviet affairs and report Korean news to the Soviet Union.

General Director (Pedin) said that NOVOSTI would prudently examine the question of changing its practice of calling Korea "South Korea" in its coverage and using its official name.

The Soviet Union seems to recognize that using the official name of Korea in the press before it is used in the political and diplomatic fields is necessary for improving relations between the two countries.

Meanwhile, another source has disclosed that the question of establishing a Seoul branch of Aeroflot, the Soviet state-run airlines, is being taken into consideration.

No Tae-u Favors Improvement of North Korea Ties

OW2001212689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 19 Dec 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] No Tae-u, president of South Korea, made public his aspirations for improving relations with socialist countries, including the DPRK. Speaking at a news conference, he spoke in favor of holding, in the near future, a meeting with Kim Il-song, DPRK president, which, according to him, would result in a monumental breakthrough in solving the Korean problem.

The head of the Seoul administration said that South Korea would propose a new formula for the reunification of the country which would be based on recognition of the DPRK as a partner in achieving this goal. He noted that, in developing this formula, it is planned to take into consideration the views of the various political parties and social strata in South Korea, as well as the DPRK position on this problem.

No Tae-u also expressed hope that the development of Seoul's relations with socialist countries will facilitate the establishment of an international situation favorable to Korea's reunification.

Touching on the presence of U.S. troops in the south of the Korean peninsula, No Tae-u, in his remarks at the news conference, declared that there can be no discussion on reducing their number. He noted that the present relations with the United States in the military sphere must be preserved and further strengthened.

This declaration was answered by a youth demonstration. Some 50 South Korean students attacked the U.S. cultural center in Kwangju City. With cries of 'down with American imperialism' they hurled Molotov cocktails and stones at the building. The ensuing fire caused considerable damage.

A recent public opinion poll shows that 95 percent of the South Korean students consider Washington to be a direct accomplice in the Kwangju massacre where about 2,000 were killed.

U.S. Presence Hinders Inter-Korean Dialogue

PM2001110489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[A. Golts "Military-Political Commentary": "Honest Dialogue Needed"]

[Text] The news existed for only 24 hours. The South Korean news agency YONHAP reported that Seoul had allegedly decided to reduce the length and duration of the U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" maneuvers this year. But the very next day, a spokesman for the South Korean military department said that "the Defense Ministry is not considering the question of reducing the scale of the 'Team Spirit' maneuvers." It is hard to say at present what lies behind this episode. It is possibly evidence of a clash of opinions within the South Korean leadership or even of differences between the approaches of Seoul and Washington. It cannot be ruled out, however, that this is just another maneuver in the game the South Korean ruling circles are playing with their public.

But, whatever the case, these events are evidence—albeit indirect evidence—that Seoul can no longer ignore the DPRK's calls for dialogue. Let me remind you that Pyongyang's initiatives envisage holding a political consultative conference of leading figures from the DPRK and South Korea. And, in the DPRK's opinion, the question of forming a confederation of North and South could be one of the main issues.

Just the other day, South Korean President No Tae-u spoke out in favor of holding a meeting in the near future with Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and president of the DPRK, which, according to him, will ensure "epoch-making progress in the solution of inter-Korean problems." The head of the Seoul administration said that South Korea will propose a new formula for uniting the country based on recognition of the DPRK as a partner in the attainment of this goal.

No Tae-u said that there can be no question of any reductions in the number of U.S. troops "unless the security of South Korea is guaranteed." Relations with the United States in the military sphere will become even stronger, he emphasized.

As far as the DPRK is concerned, it believes that the main attention should be devoted to looking for ways to eliminate military-political confrontation, including the question of ending large-scale military maneuvers. This is natural. After all, the most important precondition for a successful dialogue between North and South must be a reduction in the level of military confrontation on the peninsula. What talk can there be of trust if 650,000 of Seoul's armed forces and 43,000 U.S. military servicemen are deployed along the borders of people's Korea? What is more, the U.S. forces are equipped with the very latest types of offensive weapons, including nuclear missile weapons. Every year, Seoul and Washington organize a kind of public show of strength—a demonstration of their readiness for aggression. Precisely this is the nature of the "Team Spirit" maneuvers, which have been held since 1975. In recent years, they have involved more than 200,000 soldiers and officers, hundreds of fighter aircraft, and groups of aircraft carriers. Nuclear and chemical attacks on DPRK territory are rehearsed during these exercises.

You must agree, it is hard to prepare for dialogue to the rumble of artillery fire and the clank of tank tracks. That is the reason why Pyongyang is persisting with its proposal to draw up a plan for the phased reduction of troops in North and South and the withdrawal of U.S. formations. So it would be logical to end large-scale exercises, as the first step.

The United States is being forced to maneuver in this situation. Talks began between the U.S. and South Korean military in the middle of December. It was announced that they were to draw up recommendations to review the provisions of existing military agreements, which are so humiliating for Seoul. The question of changing the command structure is being discussed, in particular. After all, under the present structure, a considerable proportion of South Korean troops are subordinate to an American general. Seoul is also insisting on having the legal right to examine cases involving U.S. military servicemen who have committed crimes on South Korean territory. At the moment, criminals wearing U.S. military uniform are given light sentences, which are meted out by the American legal service.

Obviously these talks are concerned only with cosmetic changes in existing U.S.-South Korean military relations. It is a question of improving the image of the U.S. military presence, while leaving its actual existence untouched.

This attitude is not conducive to dialogue.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

PRAVDA on 'High Hopes' for Cambodian Settlement

PM2301103989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA own correspondent Valerian Skvortsov "Viewpoint": "High Hopes"]

[Text] Bangkok—Recently the protocol department of the Sararom Palace, which houses Thailand's foreign policy department, has been very busy. Bangkok has become a kind of crossroads for prominent diplomats from many Southeast Asian countries. SRV Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem made a short stopover here on his way to Beijing. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas held talks with his Thai colleague Sitthi Sawetsila on his way home from Paris, where he met with Prince Sihanouk. He also consulted with the leaders of the emigre Khmer factions in Bangkok. What is described here as an upcoming "breakthrough" in approaches toward relations with the PRK has been announced—they are expecting the arrival of Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Behind this activity, accompanied by planned and spontaneous press conferences and much shuttling to and fro by journalists accredited in Bangkok, in my view, a maturing settlement of one of the most complex regional conflicts in Southeast Asia can clearly be seen. The Cambodian problem, which for a decade has been awaiting a solution which can only be achieved by political means, seems at last to be really becoming the common concern of all the sides involved. A concern, moreover, filled with the desire to seek compromises and a balance of interests. Life and the broad changes in the international climate have undoubtedly determined the course of this process. Soviet, Chinese, and U.S. participation in dialogue on the Cambodian problem enabled SRV Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach to state at a recent meeting with his Thai partner Sitthi Sawetsila that he thinks the international aspects of the Cambodian conflict are in general settled. Indeed, it is difficult not to agree that the main specific work on a settlement must now be done here in the region, without delay.

At the same time one cannot fail to see that the path to resolving the Cambodian problem is also full of impasses, unexpected twists and turns, and sabotage by such forces as the so-called "Khmers Rouges." Even now the latter are in no hurry to announce their intention to join in the new informal meeting of all sides involved in the Cambodian problem being prepared for the second half of February in Jakarta. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told journalists in Bangkok that Sihanouk will come to Jakarta and Son Sann has also promised to do this. For his part Sitthi Sawetsila stated that after his recent talks in Hanoi, he is absolutely confident of the participation of Nguyen Co Thach and all the remaining representatives of the Indochinese countries.

A meeting of foreign ministers of ASEAN, which includes, besides Brunei itself, as is known, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, is beginning at this precise moment in Brunei. The main theme of their talks is to work out a coordinated approach at the second informal meeting in Jakarta.

ASEAN greeted with satisfaction the accord between the PRK and the SRV, if a political settlement is reached, to implement the full withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia no later than September 1989 with the aim of speeding up a solution to the Cambodian problem. Naturally, this must be accompanied by a cease-fire, by a pledge by foreign states not to provide assistance to all opposing sides and or to allow them to use their territory, and by the cessation of interference in the Cambodian people's internal affairs. On the whole the ASEAN capitals correctly understood this as a serious demonstration of good will for a comprehensive settlement in Indochina on the basis of respect for the Cambodian people's fundamental aspirations, and taking into account the situation which has taken shape in the region. There is a chance for a way out of a situation which just a few months ago seemed almost hopeless. And the possible consequences of implementing this chance may open up good prospects. It is not for nothing that you now hear Bangkok circles involved in the development of political, economic, and social ties with the socialist states in general, and Indochina in particular, talk about formulating plans for the so-called "post-Cambodian period."

...Yes, a great deal is changing in Southeast Asia or is about to change. The turning point in relations between Thailand and Laos, which are now restoring broad political, economic, and cultural relations, is significant. Public opinion here viewed the results of the foreign minister's visit to Hanoi as a diplomatic triumph. The development of trade with socialist neighbors has been proclaimed a strategic line in the present cabinet's foreign policy. The meetings, talks, and consultations now taking place on the Cambodian problem show the way to the highway of good-neighborliness and cooperation in the region. They offer high hopes. I think I can take the liberty of saying that time may vindicate them.

Manila Peace Conference Objectives Emphasized

HK1901051389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] In the principal city of the Philippines, the International Conference of Peace Guardians has ended. The conference has raised the consciousness of the general public and of political groups in the Philippines. This is not at all surprising. During four days, more than 200 activists from Australia, New Zealand, Japan and other countries in the Asia-Pacific and South Asia region discussed issues of great importance which concern the citizens of the Asia-Pacific region.

How can the militarization of the region be ended, and how can this be turned into a nuclear-free zone? What steps are being taken to get rid of foreign military bases which are the sources of tension in the Asia-Pacific region? Conference delegates sought answers to these questions. Here is a detailed report from our correspondent:

[Begin report read by same announcer] I wish to call attention to the document released by the Conference which embodies a call for a thorough discussion of the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives dealing with disarmament and the reduction of tension in the Asia-Pacific region. Two and a half years have elapsed since Mikhail Gorbachev set forth his proposals in his message at Vladivostok, not to mention his statement in Krasnoyarsk last year. In the opinion of many of the Manila conference delegates, these are ideal means for the attainment of regional security. Much prominence was also given at the conference to the pledge by the Soviet Union that it would no longer increase its nuclear arsenal.

At the Manila conference, attention was also paid to proposals made by the Soviet delegates to end, and cooperate with the U.S. on reciprocal reduction of, air and naval forces in the Asia-Pacific region and to limit their movements.

Regarding the withdrawal of the foreign military bases, the forum delegates cited initial suggestions by the Soviet Union for this problem. Everyone knows that the Soviet Union proposes to withdraw military bases and troops from foreign territory by the year 2000. Foreign military troops should only be stationed in their own countries [sentence as heard]. Mikhail Gorbachev declared, in Krasnoyarsk, that the Soviet Union is prepared to halt the use of its technical and material stations at Cam Ranh Bay if the United States agrees to withdraw its military bases from the Philippines. The peace activists regretfully noted that there seem to be no fresh, serious initiatives by the United States vis-a-vis the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. A dialogue between Washington and Moscow on the problems in the region has, in truth, still not commenced.

The Conference of the Peace Guardians in Manila called on citizens of the Asia-Pacific region to intensify the struggle against foreign military powers, militarization and nuclear tests. The conference delegates also favored peaceful means of solving the problems involving Afghanistan and Cambodia, and for the peaceful reunification of North and South Korea.

In the final analysis, the forum in Manila was a good example of international diplomacy working toward solutions for the grave problems which exist in the Asia-Pacific region.

Near East & South Asia

Opposition Blockade, Cold Cause Shortages in Kabul

Aid Arriving by Air, Land

LD2001162989 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 20 TASS—People in many Afghan cities are having a hard time. Freezing temperatures, the abundance of snow and new tactics by opposition groups, which blockade populated localities, have brought about acute shortages of food and oil products.

In Kabul, people line in queues to baker's shops, hundreds of cars freeze to the ground while waiting for gasoline delivery at filling stations.

Formerly-crowded streets in Kabul's downtown shopping area now are empty. People hide away from the cold in their homes. Prices of meat, vegetables and fruit have grown.

Several people, including children and senior citizens, were reported dead from the cold and hunger.

Speculation and the hiding of foodstuffs have reached an unprecedented scale. The authorities have to take strict measures toward people who try to make profits out of their compatriots' hardships.

Roads linking Kabul with the country's south and east have been cut off by rebels, while the only operating northern road through the Salang pass is posing a threat to the traffic due to snow drifts, avalanches and rebel attacks.

In these conditions, air communication with the Soviet Union has acquired vital importance for the capital. Each day, scores of Aeroflot and military-transport planes bring here foodstuffs and fuel which are later distributed free of charge among the most needy citizens.

On January 19, Soviet and Afghan soldiers distributed more than 40 tons of flour and rice and nearly 30,000 litres of kerosene among hundreds of families.

Despite the above-mentioned difficulties, columns of trucks carrying relief aid from the Soviet Union and convoyed by troops, arrive periodically to Kabul from the north.

Further on Airlift of Supplies

LD2101152989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0931 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul, 21 Jan (TASS)—Correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy reports:

Six Soviet transport planes landed one after the other at Kabul's international airport today. They delivered a large consignment of flour to Kabul residents who are experiencing great hardship because of attempts by the die-hard opposition to organize an economic blockade of the town. A total of 3,500 tonnes of flour for bread will be sent to Kabul at the decision of the Soviet Government.

It ought to be noted that the difficulties with supplies for the capital in recent days are not only the result of criminal acts by the extremists. During the winter the situation is made much more difficult by the heavy snowfalls and severe frosts, which have disrupted food supplies in previous years as well. Added to these factors have been the actions of individual traders which look very much like flagrant sabotage, whereby substantial consignments of food that are delivered are concealed instead of sold. A special commission set up by the republic's leadership is investigating to determine whether such criminal acts are an attempt by traders merely "to line their pockets" through the hardship of Kabul residents or a calculated action by subversive elements to create a crisis in the capital.

'Critical' Situation Viewed

LD2201202389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Mikhail Leshchinskiy report from Afghanistan]

[Text] The situation in Kabul, besieged by snows and gangs of brigands, has become increasingly critical in recent weeks. For many days now long lines of freezing, poorly clad, and hungry people have formed in the streets starting early in the morning. All they need is a few flat grain loaves, made from grey, coarse-ground flour. That comprises the main ration of many Afghan families. But now there isn't even enough of that for everyone.

Of course, it is possible and right to blame the detachments of the armed opposition which have decided to grip Kabul in an economic blockade for the present situation. But nevertheless, in the north of the country large quantities of food supplies have remained untransported. They could have been delivered to Kabul in the summer, when the situation was calm. Isn't there a malicious design in this? It is precisely now that the country and its capital are going through a decisive time, that the outcome of the power struggle is being decided, and that the question of who beats whom is being decided. [Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 22 January omits the preceding graf from a repeat of this item in its "Vremya" newscast]

In these conditions, on the special instructions of President Najibullah an extraordinary commission has been created for combating speculation and sabotage of food supplies. It is now especially important that the flour being airlifted to Kabul reach those who need it. It's no small amount: 3,500 tonnes. According to the experts' calculations this is enough to supply the city of 2 million and to foil the plans to blockade it, the ultimate aim of which is undoubtedly the overthrow of the Kabul regime. [video shows lines of people in the streets, bread being sold, Soviet aircraft at airport, flour sacks being unloaded and transported by trucks]

[Announcer] The tragedy of the Afghan people is continuing, as you have seen. Our aid to the hungry and poverty-stricken people is not simply the manifestation of a desire to atone for what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev called our old sins when he addressed the Moscow party conference. What is showing through here is an aspiration, traditional for our people, to help one's neighbor when things are difficult or bad for him. In light of this the barbaric, treacherous role of the Afghan opposition appears even clearer. But it is not only they who are trying to strangle the Kabul regime by hunger. The Pakistani authorities, who are not fulfilling the commitments they assumed for stopping the war in Afghanistan, also bear responsibility for the current tragedy of the people of Kabul. Our correspondent was correct in referring to the irresponsibility and disorganization of the Afghan administrative apparatus in charge of food supplies. I would add to this the conscious sabotage by a part of this apparatus linked with the counterrevolution. Where is the solution? There is only one: An internal Afghan settlement lies through the formation of a representative government with the participation of all warring sides.

Clashes Between Afghan Army, Opposition Continue

Pakistani Helicopters Downed 18 Jan

LD1901144889 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 19 TASS—The Afghan Army destroyed two Pakistani Air Force helicopters on January 18 after they violated Afghan air space and landed a group of foreign military advisers and Afghan opposition members from Peshawar in the area of Yasin-Babai, an Afghan Army spokesman said.

Cutting the act of aggression short, the Army attacked, destroying the helicopters and all those on board.

An American and seven Arab military advisers as well as 'Abdul Fattah, "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA) commander in Konduz Province, were killed alongside some 400 more Afghan rebels when Afghan Army units mounted an offensive in response to the opposition's shelling of the city of Konduz.

Three days of those bombardments, in which over 2,500 rockets were fired into the city by IPA groups, had left more than 30 civilians killed or wounded and caused extensive destruction.

The Afghan Army units during the retaliatory operation seized 50 rockets, seven launchers for them, and dozens of firearms.

Afghan troops defending the district centres of Sorhoud, Chapliar Khwar, Gowshtah and others in Nangarhar Province killed more than 550 of the extremists attacking them during the past week.

Afghan army units conducted successful local fighting in the provinces of Qandahar, Herat and Samangan and in Khowst region on Wednesday.

A vehicle with arms for a Shi'ite opposition group hit a mine planted by IPA rebels in the province of Zabol, and five people escorting the cargo were killed. This prompted renewed clashes between IPA groups and Shi'ites.

The BAKHTAR news agency reported that that the security service stopped a suitcase with magnetic mines at the Kabul airport, preventing a series of acts of terrorism. It is believed that the mines were meant against planes of both the Afghan and foreign airlines.

The Afghan foreign Ministry passed the 187th and 188th notes of protest to the U.N. mission, reporting further Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords.

Rebels Repulsed in Konduz

LD2301104389 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 23 TASS—More than 3,000 Afghan rebels mounted a large-scale offensive on the capital of Konduz Province but were beaten back after three days of fighting, the province's governor has said.

Major-General 'Abdullah said in an interview with the newspaper PAYAM that the rebels, from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA) led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, first attacked security posts and an airport outside the city on the night of January 15.

Within the next three days the armed opposition fired 2,500 rockets at the city, killing seven civilians, gravely injuring another 25 and completely destroying ten houses and two office buildings.

The extremists' plans, however, fell through when three days into the fighting government troops together with civilian home-guard units counter-attacked.

The rebels, failing to withstand the powerful blow, turned to flight. IPA units lost some 400 men killed, including the chiefs of some anti-government groups and several foreign military advisers.

President Najibullah congratulated the defenders of Kunduz on their victory.

Government forces, in the meantime, are continuing operations and killed more than 60 extremists on Sunday [22 January], BAKHTAR news agency reported.

The situation in the city is normal and the provincial governor believes that anti-government groups that continue operating in the province no longer pose a threat to the city of Konduz.

'Fierce Fighting' in Nangarhar

LD2101071789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Fierce fighting between government troops and opposition formations is taking place in Afghanistan. In Nangarhar Province the Afghan Army was forced to leave a number of security posts. In Herat Province powerful artillery blows have been inflicted on the areas where there are concentrations of rebels. The Afghan Air Force has bombed detachments of opposition forces in a number of areas in the provinces of Qandahar and Herat.

'Enemy' Loses 470 in Nangarhar

LD2201123989 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 22 TASS—Government troops delivered a powerful strike at the places of concentration of insurgents in Kameh, Gowshtah and Shiveh Districts of the eastern Afghan province of Nangarhar. The enemy lost 470 men killed and 85 wounded. Two depots of arms and equipment were destroyed.

The BAKHTAR news agency has reported that 13 fortified positions of insurgents were destroyed and a large amount of ammunition was captured as a result of successful operation by army units in Qandahar Province. In the past twenty-four hours combat operations were also conducted in Herat, Baghlan and Samangan Provinces.

Extremists continue to fire on populated areas in various parts of the country. In the past twenty-four hours they fired about 300 rockets on a number of villages in Khowst District and Qandahar Province, effecting casualties among population.

Internecine clashes between conflicting opposition groups took place in Parwan, Herat and Loghar Provinces. More than 160 militants were killed or wounded.

State bodies take measures to improve the hard food situation. About 400 tons of wheat has been brought to Kabul from the provinces. A rationed distribution of rice, flour and other prime necessities is being effected through shops.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent the 190th and the 191st notes to the U.N. Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP). The notes convey protests against Islamabad's new violations of the provisions of the Geneva accords.

82 Killed, Weapons Seized

PM1901163389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Strikes Against Rebels"]

[Text] Kabul, 18 Jan—According to BAKHTAR, the republic's Armed Forces have carried out attacks against areas where the rebels are concentrated—the Rowdat, Gowshtah, and Sorkh Rud districts in Nangarhar Province. As a result of the successful operation, the enemy suffered casualties of 82 dead and 5 wounded. A large quantity of arms was seized, including three rocket launchers. BAKHTAR points out that the opposition formations were operating with the support of detachments from the Pakistani militia (armed tribal home guard).

Eight Arab and Pakistani instructors have been killed during fighting in the Khowst district and Paktia Province.

Chemical Weapons Use in Afghanistan Denied

LD1901121689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1052 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—TASS political observer Askold Biryukov writes:

It does not sink in. Indeed, how could such a respected British newspaper as THE INDEPENDENT literally, as the saying goes, swallow the hook without even any bait?

On 13 January THE INDEPENDENT carried a letter from a certain Gulam Yakhya, representative of an "Islamic alliance of mujahidin," which said, inter alia:

"The Soviet Union has been using chemical weapons in Afghanistan for over 2 years. Dr Heindriks, from Gent University, Belgium, is an appointed UN expert on chemical weapons. He has confirmed the fact that mustard gas and new gas had been used in Afghanistan...."

I have been in Afghanistan and have seen samples of the chemical weapons that the so called "fighters for faith" used more than once in the country, not against the enemy but on the peaceful population. Cases of extremists, who were sent into the country from outside, using these kinds of weapons have been registered in photographs and in films. It is precisely they who, trying to cover up their crimes, sought more than once to put the blame on Soviet internationalist servicemen.

Afghans know well who brings them bread, kerosene, and other items essential for existence, and who brings robbery and destruction. Here is a question: How has the esteemed British newspaper taken on trust the irresponsible assertions of a certain Yakhya? Is it not because this person has used the authority of a well-known Belgian scientist as a cover?

We asked our correspondent in Brussels, Valeriy Shashkov, to get in touch with Professor Heindriks. The scientist told him: "I never analyzed samples of soil, urine, or blood which had come from Afghanistan, and I never maintained that chemical weapons were used in that country."

As is known, THE INDEPENDENT is a popular newspaper and one can understand the wish of those who publish it to increase its popularity. Even so, it should not do this in the way resorted to by this publication. By drawing indiscriminately from a dirty source it is not difficult to soil one's own reputation.

Arab Envoys Protest Libyan Aircraft Downing

PM1901162189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Moscow Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, has received Yemen Arab Republic Ambassador 'A. 'U. Muhammad, Algerian Ambassador M. Yala, Libyan Ambassador D.A. Suwaydan, and Kuwaiti Charge d'Affaires ad Interim M. al-'Awadi, at their request.

The envoys presented a statement from the council of the heads of the Arab diplomatic missions accredited to the USSR describing the actions of the U.S. Armed Forces, which shot down two Libyan aircraft over international waters, as actions leading to the undermining of peace and security in the Mediterranean region.

The Soviet side stated that the fueling of tension and the United States' use of military force have no justification and run counter to the efforts of the international community to find political solutions to existing international conflicts. It was stressed that the Soviet side is taking active political and other steps with a view to preventing the further escalation of tension around Libya and the Mediterranean as a whole.

The Arab countries' envoys thanked the Soviet Union for its principled and firm position in connection with these events.

Transit Agreement, Trade With Iran Reviewed

NC1901134189 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] A meeting in Tehran between the Soviet envoy in Iran, Mr Vladimir Gudev, and the Iranian minister for Roads and Transport, Mr Mohammad Sa'idi-kia, reviewed problems (?existing) between the countries in the transportation field. The Soviet Union and Iran, neighbors with a 2500-km common border, are broadening ties to mutually benefit in this field.

The Soviet-Iranian transit agreement signed 9 years ago enabled both countries to increase their maritime traffic considerably. [passage omitted]

The transit agreement also helped Iran to shatter the fetters of the economic embargo which the United States and its allies sought to impose on Iran. The construction of the first electric railroad between Jolfa and Tabriz—completed with Soviet assistance, despite the Iran-Iraq war—also helped to considerably improve ties between the Soviet Union and Iran in the transport field. [passage omitted]

Road traffic between Iran and the Soviet Union is increasing and is assuming greater importance in view of the progress in mutually beneficial trade relations along the two countries' borders. Soviet-Iranian cooperation in the maritime transportation field is expanding consistently. Our respective countries signed an accord for a shipping route between Baku and the Iranian ports on the Caspian Sea. Last year, Iran signed an agreement to purchase two ships from the Soviet Union; they will soon (?be delivered).

The session of the joint Soviet-Iranian permanent commission for economic cooperation, which took place last month in Moscow, provided a favorable outlook for future expansion of trade ties between the two countries in various fields. [passage omitted]

KGB Appeal for Cooperation Shows 'Common Sense'

TA1901204489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Our program on the battle against international terrorism which was broadcast last week produced reverberations in the international media. News agencies, press, and official elements in various countries showed special interest in the proposal of Lieutenant General Vitaliy Ponomarev, deputy chairman of the KGB, who stressed that the Soviet security services are willing to cooperate with Western services in safeguarding international law and order, and protecting the civilian population from international terrorism, particularly aircraft hijacking.

This is not a stand maintained solely by the KGB. It is the stand of the entire Soviet public, on whose behalf this station broadcasts. It should be noted in this context that some reports have alluded to Moscow Radio. This is, of course, a mistake. We are the Soviet public organizations' broadcasting station of Peace and Progress. We broadcast in 11 languages to all parts of the world, from China to Haiti. Our aim is to tell foreign listeners about the stands of the Soviet people and nongovernmental Soviet organizations on various domestic and foreign policy issues. Most naturally, we could not abstain from referring to the problem of international terrorism which has recently manifested itself in our country as well. It is no less natural for us to be very interested in international cooperation aimed at preventing terrorism.

To be quite frank, only a few years ago we were not accustomed to appealing to foreign elements on sensitive issues. We believed we could deal with all our problems by ourselves—and we did so. Reality, however, proved that this is not the best way. In several cases of air hijackings we acted according to the blood and bullets method, paying a high price. In the recent incident in Ordzhonikidze, terrorists took 30 children hostage and demanded to be flown to Israel. This is when our security services decided to act in a new way. They contacted the Israeli authorities and achieved a prompt agreement with them regarding the criminals' extradition.

The cooperation in this case is a lesson not only to air hijackers, but to all of us. Apparently, even if there are differences on important issues, it is both possible and necessary to jointly defend universal values, including our security and health. There are instances when prestige is overshadowed by more important values of humaneness and justice. This is the basic concept held by Soviet society, which is currently undergoing a process of restructuring, of the victory of pragmatism and common sense.

Apparently, all this too was meant by General Vitaliy Ponomarev, who expressed on behalf of the Soviet security services a willingness to cooperate with foreign services.

Official on UAE Earthquake Aid, Mideast Peace

JN1901191689 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 18 Jan 89 pp 1, 21

[AL-ITTIHAD bureau dispatch from Beirut]

[Text] In exclusive statements to AL-ITTIHAD through the NOVOSTI bureau in Beirut, Andrey Vdovin [name as published], head of the Near East and North Africa Department at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, has expressed "the Soviet leadership's appreciation for the financial aid extended by the UAE to the victims of the tragic Armenian earthquake."

Vdovin said: This generous assistance has left a very noble effect in the hearts of all Soviet people. We are confident that this noble act, which was made by the people and government of the UAE, will play an important role in strengthening the friendly relations between our two countries.

In his statements to AL-ITTIHAD, Vdovin added that the proclamation of the Palestinian state will in the end result in the establishment of the Palestinian state on the liberated territories of Palestine.

The Soviet official revealed that "the intensive consultations conducted between Moscow and the PLO have helped in formulating the new PLO stand toward the peace process in the region." Vdovin considered the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue as "an important step on the right way to achieve comprehensive peace in the region."

Soviet Experts Aid PDRY Oil Development

PM2001103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Belyakov: "Oil Rigs in the Desert"]

[Text] Aden, January—The conference dragged on. Lunchtime had long passed, but the Soviet geologists and their South Yemen colleagues still had not dispersed. They were discussing in detail the results of oil prospecting work in Shabwah Province and future directions. Salih Abu Bakr bin Husaynun, PDRY deputy prime minister and minister of energy and minerals, was in the chair.

The minister is well known in the collective of Soviet geologists. He has frequently visited their base settlement near Ataq and toured the boreholes. Other leaders of the republic have also visited. For Democratic Yemen, almost bereft of minerals, the emergence of the prospect of becoming an oil extracting state is an outstanding event—and not only in terms of its economic consequences but also of its social and political consequences.

It has been officially announced that Soviet geologists have found three oil deposits of commercial significance in Shabwah. However, more accurate information had to be obtained on the discovered deposits, the prospecting regions had to be expanded, and at the same time test drilling had to be started and the deposits prepared for operation. The USSR and the PDRY signed agreements on Soviet specialists' participation in the provision of wellhead facilities for the deposits and the construction of an oil pipeline 220 km long with a throughput capacity of 6 million tonnes of oil a year, which will unite the oilfield region with the seaside town of Bi'r 'Ali. From there the oil will be carried by tankers to Adan as Sughra, to an oil refinery.

But now the drilling workers have started to appear in Shabwah, to be followed by the oil pipeline builders. The route is a very difficult one. It passes mainly through mountains and wadi—narrow gorges through which mountain torrents surge in the rainy season.

Many of the usual systems had to be broken to fulfill such a difficult task. For instance, the linear section of the oil pipeline was planned directly on the site. Other innovations have also appeared. Usually specialists are gathered from the entire country. But here the matter was assigned to specific organizations which are leaders in their field. Oil workers are represented by the "Bashneft" production association and construction workers by the specialized "Obtruboprovodstroy" association. This has made it possible select cadres more carefully and ship them rapidly to the PDRY with the equipment.

But there are also many problems—interdepartmental barriers, for instance. The Ministry of Geology, the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, and the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises are working side by side but completely autonomously. Each has its own contract, its own administration, its own settlements, storehouses, equipment, and so forth. As a result there is frequent duplication.

What about the question of building a highway from the city to the oil fields? At present this 60-km road through the desert can be traveled only on an all-terrain vehicle, which creates many problems, and is not cheap. However, Bin Husaynun said, they have still not succeeded in finding sources to finance the building of such a road.

The struggle for Democratic Yemen's oil is gathering momentum. The test drilling of holes is under way and every day several dozens of tank trucks deliver the crude oil from Shabwah to the refinery in Adan as Sughra. This is not a lot, but extraction should soon cover half the republic's needs and considerably exceed them in 1990. The time is not far off when the Soviet oil workers and construction workers will go home. The operation of the oil fields will be assumed by their Yemeni colleagues.

Will they be ready for this? This question is already perturbing Minister Bin Husaynun today. Having gathered together his oil workers, he spoke with them mostly on this subject. Then at a joint conference he asked our comrades to pay as much attention as possible to training the Yemenis and passing on their experience on to them.

...I had not had time to leave the aircraft at Aden airport before a refueling tanker rolled up. The fuel in its tank was still made from imported crude oil. But soon the Yemenis will begin to fuel their aircraft and trucks with fuel produced from their own oil.

East Europe

PZPR Plenum Resolution Discusses Pluralism

LD1901174489 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw January 19 TASS—The continuation of socialist renewal calls for an in-depth reform of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) for it to effectively perform its role in a pluralistic society and in conditions of a socialist market economy, says a resolution of the tenth plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee.

In the resolution, issued here on Wednesday, the Central Committee endorsed the party reform guidelines set out in the Political Bureau's theses, reaffirmed trust in and gave unequivocal support to PUWP leader Wojciech Jaruzelski and to the leadership of the party, expressing conviction that it will ensure the successful implementation of the plenum's decisions.

The way to the establishment of modern socialism in Poland, the resolution points out, is through the realisation of the party's objectives and values in the socio-economic, political, cultural and intellectual life of the people.

The dominant position of socialised property in the national economy, the progressive role of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia, the role and importance of the party, and Poland's firm alliance with the Soviet Union and in the community of socialist states should be guarantees for the realisation of these values.

In cooperation with its allies, the PUWP strives to form a citizen-oriented state of socialist parliamentary democracy in Poland.

The party recognises the need to take into consideration pluralism of interests and aspirations, to give greater scope to pluralism in the exercise of power, ensuring a place for an opposition which recognises the constitutional order and acts in accordance with it.

The Central Committee emphasises that efforts to attain the long-term programme's goals as well as deep changes in domestic life and methods of the party's activities should be combined with solution of the most urgent economic and political problems of the day such as the introduction of economic reforms, improvements in supplies, and lower rates of inflation in accordance with the national economic consolidation plan.

Jaruzelski on 'Heated' Discussion

LD2101173989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] All of us have been following with interest and atention how Poland is entering a qualitatively new stage in the reform of its political system. Here with the details is our Warsaw correspondent, Yuriy Ulyanov. Over to you, Yuriy Aleksandrovich.

[Ulyanov] The Polish press continues to comment on the results of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which, in the opinion of some local observers, has assumed the significance of a party congress.

Information has become available here on what took place at the final, closed session of the Central Committee plenum on 18 January, which ended at 0300. Discussion of the issues became so dramatic and heated at times that Comrade Jaruzelski spoke several times at the plenum. In the end he declared that he was willing to relinquish the post of first secretary of the party Central Committee. Similar statements were made by Prime Minister Rakowski and two other ministers who are also Politburo members. In other words, the issue was put virtually as a question of confidence, and the members of the party Central Committee gave the leadership a vote of confidence, with four abstentions.

However, one should not sensationalize the plenum and its decisions, Comrade Jaruzelski said at a press conference. Above all, we discussed intraparty matters, questions of changing the work style of the party and its apparatus [words indistinct] not a revolution [perevorot], but a change of direction [povorot] in our work.

What brought it about? First of all, the demands of the day, both political and economic; the need to find paths to national harmony in society. From what premise did the party proceed? From the basic thesis that the party must reflect the interests of the majority of the working people, in which the main place belongs to the working class. At the same time, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee said at the press conference, we will build a society based on parliamentary socialist democracy in which a variety of forces will operate, including opposition forces.

A resolution of the plenum states directly that political pluralism, meaning a variety of opinions and tendencies, and trade union pluralism, meaning the possible existence of not one but several trade unions, is a most important and integral part of Poland's democratic social order. Life will demonstrate how this works in practice. Essentially it is an historical experiment, but one in which the PZPR sees the way toward achieving a qualitatively new condition of socialist society.

Motives of Prague Demonstrators Viewed

PM1901193789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 89 First Edition p 7

[Own correspondent S. Vtorushin dispatch under the rubric "At Readers' Request": "What Are They Aiming At?"]

[Text] Several readers have called the editorial office and asked about the causes of demonstrations in Prague. We asked our own correspondent in the CSSR to answer this question.

Prague, 19 Jan—For several days now groups consisting mainly of young people have been organizing demonstrations in Prague's main square, Wenceslas Square, disrupting normal life and public order in the city center. I went to Wenceslas Square, saw these groups, and observed their actions. What are these people aiming at?

Major changes have been taking place in Czechoslovakia recently. The party's course of democratization and acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development has brought a series of reforms to life.

Of course, Czechoslovak society contains quite a few people who are dissatisfied with the pace of reforms. Quite a few problems have accumulated in the Czechoslovak economy. People are not satisfied with the supply of a whole series of industrial goods to the domestic market. There are problems in the social sphere and in public life. Special worry is caused—and this can be heard bluntly said in any collective—by the indifference toward social life displayed by a certain section of young people. Briefly speaking, there are quite a few problems.

This is precisely why the CPCZ elaborated a program for restructuring, the aim of which is to lead the country to a qualitatively new level. This program requires the support of all the people because its fulfillment depends on the activeness and the honest and conscientious labor of every person. Examining the actions by the groups organizing demonstrations in Wenceslas Square from this viewpoint, you draw the conclusion that their aim is to wreck the incipient process of democratization, to hinder restructuring.

A pretext for the demonstrations was provided by the sad anniversary of the tragic death of Jan Palach, a student from the Charles University Faculty of Philosophy who took his own life by self-immolation 20 years ago. This action, instigated by antisocialist forces, shook the whole of society at the time. It is no accident that now, 2 decades later, these selfsame forces are again trying to exploit that tragedy. Drawing attention to this date, the organizers of demonstrations wish to thus discredit the socialist transformations in Czechoslovakia and its social system. They realize that by playing on human feelings, they will find it easier to attract attention.

The demonstrators have failed to win support from the inhabitants of Prague. On the contrary, their actions have caused a wave of protests by labor collectives and public organizations. Both chambers of the National Assembly, the National Front City Committee Presidium, the Prague City National Committee Council, and the City Trade Union Committee Presidium analyzed events in Wenceslas Square and, resolutely condemning them, supported the measures taken by the authorities to impose calm and order. The overwhelming majority of Czechoslovakia's population supports the course of restructuring and democratization and categorically rejects any attempts to hinder their implementation.

Situation in Kosovo Region Deteriorating

LD2101112289 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT
21 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade January 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Viktor Kuznetsov reports:

A political situation in the Kosovo Autonomous Region integrated in the Socialist Republic of Serbia is deteriorating. Subversive activities from the positions of Albanian nationalism are going on. There exists serious danger of the deepening of the inter-ethnic conflict. People's mistrust in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), in its ability to successfully cope with the

Kosovo problem is growing, says a joint statement of the Kosovo Presidium and the regional committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo published in the city of Pristina.

The statement pointed out that a political situation in the region had worsened after massive actions and demonstrations of people of Albanian nationality in November 1988. A split between people for ethnic reasons is deepening. One cannot rule out a possibility of new massive actions fraught with unpredictable consequences, despite the prohibition of the Kosovo Presidium and the republican secretariat for internal affairs.

Party and state bodies of the autonomous region urged working people to consolidate fraternity and unity, to create a united front of Serbians, Montenegrins, Turks and Albanians living in Kosovo, to mobilise all the forces to the putting into practice of economic and political reforms.

Political & Social

Tajikistan Earthquake Leaves More Than 1,000 Dead

LD2301132089 Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] There was a big earthquake in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Tajikistan last night. Its epicenter, 50 km southwest of the city of Dushanbe, registered 7 points on the 12-point scale. Two villages were buried under the landslide, which covered 2 kilometers.

Preliminary reports cite 1,415 deaths.

Tremors of 5 and 6 points were registered in the capital city of Dushanbe and other cities.

Landslides Compound 'Devastation'

LD2301125089 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Dushanbe January 23 TASS—An earthquake which hit the Soviet Central Asian Republic of Tajikistan at dawn on Monday [23 January] had its epicentre in the densely populated agricultural district of Gissar, 30 kilometres south west of the Tadzhik capital Dushanbe.

The villages of Sharor, Okuli-Poyen and Okuli-Bolo sustained the heaviest damage.

Devastation wreaked by the tremor, which measured force 7 on the 12-point soviet scale, was compounded by two enormous landslides which crashed down on these villages.

One-third of Sharor was buried under 15 metres of earth and hundreds of people were killed.

In Okuli-Bolo the landslide buried over 70 people. There was also loss of life in other populated localities in the area.

The overall death toll is currently estimated at up to 1,000.

Damage caused to the district is being established by an emergency commission formed by the Tajikistan Government.

Dozens of kilometres of highways and communication lines were destroyed and thousands of cattle were buried.

Rescue teams from Dushanbe and nearby areas are working in the stricken district. Heavy-duty machinery, including power shovels, bulldozers and truck-mounted cranes, are arriving to help.

Local authorities are taking measures to provide people in distress with medical assistance, food and temporary lodgings.

Tajik Officials on Damage

LD2301142189 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] As we have already reported, on 23 January at 0502 local time [2302 GMT on 22 January] a strong earthquake occurred on the territory of Tajikistan. According to the Dushanbe seismic station, the epicenter was located 30 km southwest of the republican capital, in Sharor village in Gissarskiy Rayon. The force of the earthquake there reached 7 on the 12-point scale. The underground tremors started a powerful landslide which destroyed houses and other buildings in the villages of Sharor, Okuli-Bolo, and Okuli-Poyen. There are human casualties. An emergency government commission has arrived at the scene of the disaster. Emergency measures are being taken to render assistance to the victims, machinery and people have been mobilized, and the extent of the damage inflicted is being determined. The earthquake registered 5 to 6 at the settlement of Gissar, 5 at Duhsanbe and Tursunzade, and 3 to 4r at Nurek. Journalist Imbar Tachirova visited the epicenter of the earthquake. Here is his report.

[Tachirova] Just yesterday, life was proceeding normally in these places. (?Even rows of white-walled) houses were standing. There was busy traffic on the roadway. But what you see today (?is striking). [Word indistinct] of damaged buildings, and dozens of houses have ended up under the landslide. Sadly, the disaster has taken many lives.

Comrade Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, Comrade Khayeyev, chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers, and other republican leaders have visited the disaster area. There are a lot of (?specialists) here taking part in rescue and restoration work. Here is a brief interview with Comrade Yurikov, first deputy minister of motor transport of the republic:

[Begin recording] [Yurikov] The damage is indeed very great, including the roads, both republic-administered roads and (?local ones). Without a doubt, we still must assess the situation, because at the moment one cannot, as they say, (?see everything). One cannot get through with transport everywhere, but the machinery has already been dispatched. Several excavators, Belarus vehicles, and more powerful, heavier equipment will be sent literally within the next few hours.

[Tachirova] Here we are at the Karl Marx kolkhoz. People say that there are human casualties here too.

[Yurikov] Yes, indeed, there are human casualties, but so far the precise numbers have not been tallied. This will evidently be clarified very soon.

[Tachirova] Only a few hours have passed since the earthquake, but I can see already that there are machinery and people here, and they have already started on restoration work.

[Yurikov] Indeed, they have started restoration work, but so far not actual restoration work but clearing of the landslide itself. The restoration work will come somewhat later, after every possible step has been taken to rescue people; only after that will the restoration work begin.

[Tachirova] I have had occasion to experience an earthquake [word indistinct] in the Pamir Mountains, in Dzhirgatalskiy Rayon, and in the Karakum Desert. But here I see there is a massive landslide, [words indistinct]. What has caused it?

[Yurikov] This landslide can be explained—obviously, the specialists will have something to say about it—but evidently it is connected with the fact that the rock could not take the strain, and as a result of the earthquake, there has been a big landslide. As a result houses, barns, and other buildings have been affected, in addition to the roads, of course.

[Tachirova] I managed to talk to Ibragim Petranovich Kasimova, first secretary of the Gissar Party Raykom. Tell us, please, [words indistinct]. Many people have died, and farm buildings have been damaged. Tell us, please, what is the scale of the disaster?

[Kasimova] Well, at the moment the scale of damage is being calculated, but according to preliminary figures 69 farms here have been damaged, and 60 farms at the Karl Marx kolkhoz and in the villages of Okuli-Bolo and Okuli-Poyen. [Words indistinct] no less serious damage than here. Altogether, they say that something like a thousand people remain (?buried).

[Tachirova] And what damage has been done to the rayon's economy?

[Kasimova] Well, at the moment it is difficult to calculate the (?economic damage), [words indistinct] (?at least a million) rubles. [sentence indistinct]

[Tachirova] But the people of Gissar have not been left alone in their trouble. The whole republic has pitched in to help, and evidently we can be certain that [words indistinct] time the aftermath of the earthquake will be cleared up.

[Kasimova] Yes, [words indistinct] from Leninskiy Rayon, our neighboring rayon, have come to help. [Words indistinct] coming to help from our neighboring Tursunzade Rayon. I think we shall be working through joint efforts to restore things.

[Tachirova] The main thing in these situations is moral support. Leaders of the republic have just been to visit you here in the disaster area.

[Kasimova] Yes, a government commission of the republic has already been formed, headed by Comrade Khayeyev, Izatullo Khayeyevich, and Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who spoke directly with us here a short time ago. I think we will not be left to ourselves in our trouble. [end recording]

IZVESTIYA Reports Details

PM2301163789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Karpov report: "Earthquake in Tajikstan"]

[Text] A powerful earthquake took place 23 January at 0502 hours local time on the territory of Tajikstan. According to preliminary data, approximately 1,000 people have died.

"The force of the shockwave in the republic's capital was approximately 5-6 points," I was told by the "Dushanbe" Seismic Station duty officer.

It registered 7 points at the epicenter—30 km southwest of Dushanbe. Three villages situated in the center of Gissarskiy rayon were the worst hit.

...The village of Sharor was constructed around the territory of the "Zemledeliye" Science and Production Association. The outskirts of the village ran right up against a high mound of earth. The heavy rain and sleet here over the last few weeks had saturated the soil. The sharp vertical shock that registered 7 points caused huge blocks of earth to collapse. A 2 km-wide landslip broke away and fell on the village. Half the settlement's houses were buried under a layer of earth, which in places was 18-20 meters thick. The same fate befell a considerable proportion of the buildings in Okuli-Poyen and Okuli-Bolo.

"Rescue work began 2 hours after the tragedy," I was told by I. Khayev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers. "Equipment is being mustered in the disaster area from every quarter, teams of medics are being formed quickly, hospital planes are operational, and troop subunits have been sent to help the victims... The main task now is to rescue the survivors."

"As yet it is hard to tell the scale of the damage inflicted by the natural disaster. According to preliminary data," Kh. Kasymov, first secretary of Gissarskiy Rayon, said, "approximately 1,000 people have died. Approximately 2 km of highways, a livestock farm with 760 livestock, and a large proportion of the agricultural land have been completely destroyed."

...The earthquake was also felt by the inhabitants of many other population centers. A government commission has been set up to organize aid for the victims and eliminate the consequences of the natural disaster.

Earthquake Commission Set Up

LD2301164489 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] A commission of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has been set up to coordinate work on the republican level for eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Gissarskiy Rayon and giving aid to the victims. It is headed by Khayeyev, member of the Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Tajik SSR.

Making up the commission are secretaries of the Tajikistan CP Central Committee Veselkov and Dadabayev; first deputy chairmen of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers Vakhidov and Koshlakov; chairman of the Tajik Trade Unions Council Salekhov; and other leading workers. The commission has started its work.

Today, the disaster site was visited by Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee; and Khayeyev, chairman of the republic's council of ministers.

Equipment, food products, and fuel are being delivered urgently to the afflicted areas. Debris is being cleared by servicemen and cadets from the Dushanbe Militia School.

'Specified' Deaths Exceed 600

LD2301151889 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] It has been announced at a news conference in Tajikistan's capital, Dushanbe, over 600 people died by specified figures as a result of an earthquake in that Central Asian republic last night.

In the epicenter, 50 km south west of Dushanbe, the quake measured 7 and ½ points by the Richter scale.

The tremor caused a mud flow up to 2 and ½ kilometers long and 8 kilometers wide. The flow covered one settlement and an hour and a half later another, the residents of which had managed to escape the disaster.

The earthquake and the mud flow destroyed some 100 buildings, irrigation systems, and telephone communication lines.

A government commission has been set up in the republic to eliminate the aftermath of the natural calamity. The victims have been receiving medical aid and other assistance. Twenty-five January has been declared a day of national mourning in Tajikistan.

Cities Feel Varying Tremor Degrees

LD2301071689 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Dushanbe, 23 Jan (TASS)—A strong earthquake took place today at 0202 Moscow time [2302 GMT] on the territory of the Soviet Central Asian republic of Tajikistan. According to data from the Dushanbe seismic station, the epicenter was 50 km southwest of the republic's capital, in the village of Sharor in Gissarskiy Rayon. The force of the tremor there reached 7 degrees on the 12-degree scale. There has been destruction and deaths.

Houses built of a clay-straw mixture and sheds were especially badly affected. A landslide stretching 2 km descended from the hill near the village. Residents of the settlement of Gissar felt the earthquake with a force of 5-6 degrees, and in the cities of Dushanbe and Tursunzade it was 5 degrees, and in and Nurek 3-4 degrees.

25 Jan Declared Day of Mourning

LD2301155489 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] From the Tajikstan Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers:

The Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Tajik SSR announce with deep regret that there are human casualties as a result of the earthquake which occurred in the republic on 23 January 1989 on the territory of Gissarskiy rayon.

The Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Tajik SSR express their deep condolences to the families and relatives of those who died, and to all people who have suffered from the disaster.

The Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Tajik SSR have resolved that in connection with the earthquake, which took place on 23 January 1989 on the territory of Gissarskiy and several other rayons, involving human casualties, 25 January 1989 should be declared a day of mourning in the republic.

State flags will be lowered to half-mast throughout the entire territory of the republic and all entertainments will be cancelled. Essential amendments will be made to the programs of republican radio and television.

27th Moscow CPSU Conference Meets 20-21 January

Gorbachev Addresses Conference

LD2101205089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1805 GMT 21 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th Moscow CPSU Conference on 21 January—recorded]

[Text] In general I thought I had already had my say, since on the eve of the conference, during preparations for it, other comrades from the CPSU Central Committee leadership and I met with Communists in the city party organization. I, in particular, met with the aktiv in the gorkom, and I considered it more expedient to just sit and listen attentively at the conference.

Well, if people have said they want me to speak, then I will perhaps venture to say just a few words on two topics: my attitude toward the conference, which is just finishing its work—that's the first topic. The second topic is about restructuring, although the first topic is also about restructuring. But the second topic deals with it on a nationwide scale.

I want to congratulate you on this conference, first and foremost because I can compare it with the previous one and with preceding conferences. This conference has been distinguished by a higher standard of analysis. There were, perhaps, fewer grand speeches, but there was a more profound examination of all the problems in the life of the capital and the activities of the city party organization, and an understanding of the role of the party organization at this stage of our revolutionary restructuring. For us, for the Central Committee, for the entire Politburo, which is present here in the capacity of delegates, I would say it is very important that we have heard here, from the Communists of the capital city, well-considered, serious, and I would even say decisive support for the political course toward restructuring. [applause] I would put this first.

Moreover, this is not only the support of the country's most powerful and authoritative party organization, which is always destined to shoulder enormous concerns and responsibility for affairs in the CPSU and in the country. But as I understand it, what has been voiced—or more precisely, perhaps, expressed—here in these speeches and in the resolutions passed at the conference is the will of the capital's working people. This is very important because Moscow is not only the governmental and political center of the country, but also a major scientific and intellectual center, a place where great economic, scientific, political, and spiritual potential is concentrated. In that sense the assessments of the capital... [changes thought] And someone rightly said here that the Central Committee must be attentive, or more attentive, to the opinion of Muscovites, of the capital's working class, of the scientific and creative intelligentsia. I accept that request on behalf of the Central Committee, but the fact that this support is being heard at the conference I interpret in the sense that it is the will of the capital's working people that has been voiced here. Comrades, for us that is very important. It is important because we are going through a stage of profound social changes—changes that affect all the main spheres of life. They affect every labor collective, every family, every one of us. And that process is not taking place simply or easily. We must not simplify anything.

So far that process is just getting under way. It has not yet reached the level necessary if restructuring is to gather speed like a locomotive. We are still just getting all the processes properly under way. And if in this difficult period we have heard the voice of the support of the capital's working people and Communists, we also perceive it as the voice of the Soviet people. This is politically very important because there is no other instrument with which to check the correctness of our policy than the opinion of the working people, the opinion of the Communists. Insofar as that opinion has been expressed in a democratic situation and in a democratic atmosphere, in which each person has said here whatever he thinks and in whatever form—if that has nonetheless been present here, then this is very important.

That's the first thing. Secondly, I think that, just as at that conference, at this conference too, with full justification, the center of the delegate Communists' concerns—hence these concerns are present in the city party organization—has proved to be problems relating to the life of the Muscovite. How does the Muscovite live, how does he feel, what problems face Muscovites, both in the sphere of labor and in the sphere of everyday life, how does the atmosphere of labor collectives in the city take shape, what processes are under way in the city economy, in this complex city where, if these matters aren't properly thought through and resolved, it's very difficult to live. For anyone who knows Moscow—and everyone sitting here is a person who knows and feels—this is all very important and should all be properly resolved. Don't think that it's so simple to do everything here; very many problems have accumulated—problems in the development of the production sphere, the material sphere of Moscow. This cannot be left without being properly evaluated, and mainly without being considered and then transferred to the level of practical tasks and solutions.

What is the situation with Moscow's productive assets? In certain sectors they are even worse than in many of our country's other regions. Take light industry, take the food industry, take the service sphere—in retail trade Moscow is behind many towns in the country. This goes along with the fact that an enormous load is being placed here on all these spheres. For this reason, the fact that these issues are acute here... [changes thought] Some delegates even said: What is this, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we are constantly dividing up functions, but at the conference the discussion of this revolves around production and the material sphere? Of course, our approaches must be of the party, from positions of political work, political methods, ideological methods. But the tasks remain.

For if we put the person at the center—and that ought to be the main characteristic of restructuring—then attention toward people ought to grow. Tell me then, how will anyone feel, a Muscovite first of all, if the labor sphere is in such a state, and if in the place where he goes every day and passes half his lifetime he comes up against outmoded production practices, manual labor, violation of safety procedures, and so on? Therefore I think, comrades, that on these questions—and one can add that the limited nature of labor resources also dictates attention—there is a necessity for acute attention to this sphere. These are all central issues. Therefore, I would support this, in spite of the fact that perhaps certain comrades were dismayed that some speeches here gave the impression that we were at a meeting on production matters. This is probably what one must bear in mind: The process of dividing functions and mastering the new work methods is just unfolding for both the party and soviet bodies. We will now meet both processes.

I think that the presence of the ministries here allows me to repeat what the delegates have said. The ministries must afford real assistance in the restructuring of the entire production sphere. That is their party and state duty. Whatever angle we approach things from, Moscow has the right to claim priority treatment. Moreover there are immense forces here, a qualified working class, and science; that means there is the possibility to unfold the restructuring processes faster in the framework of a radical economic reform. That must be done.

There are just two points which must not be omitted, comrades. Some have placed their bets on financial autonomy and think it is a panacea for everything, that it will save them. Indeed, we cannot do without this. We must restructure production relations in such a way that people are involved once more in the production process—through the lease contract, contracting, financial autonomy—as the master of those means of production. There must not be merely a material incentive, but a person must have the feeling, and more and more with every new day, that he really is managing these things and is participating in the management and solution of these matters. This is essential. Without that, restructuring will not work and nothing will come of it. We will get nowhere.

The second aspect of restructuring the economy is scientific-technical progress. That was the essence... [changes thought] Some of you may not have liked Comrade (Skokov's) speech. Perhaps it was not marked by any special oratorical brilliance, but the main thought was there. And it was confirmed by the last speaker, the manager of the watch and clock works, Comrade (Samsonov), when he said that the watch factory must change its entire output in 3 years, otherwise it will be left behind by its market competitors and will be unable to regain its position.

(Skokov), by doing a great deal of work together with the specialists and scientists of his association, came to the same conclusion: that they need to change their production and reach a new technical level in 4 years. So in 1 or 2 years or 18 months they are going to have to get a grip on scientific-technical progress and work on serial production for 2 and ½ or 3 years. That is the only way they will obtain new funds, increase all the funds, and provide the incentives that will enable them to solve all the questions of earnings, the social sphere, and so on. In Moscow, as nowhere else, we will get nowhere without scientific-technical progress.

Therefore, I welcome this economic emphasis that has been heard in the discussion here at the party conference. For Moscow it is simply vital. I think the gorkom has also posed the question correctly, and that means that it must also be heard in the Central Committee and the government: We just have to get moving and really come to grips with the problem of unburdening Moscow of extraneous enterprises engaged in inappropriate types of production.

So I welcome this concern and these concrete questions regarding the material sphere, in order to change the whole labor sphere for the people. I welcome the fact that the comrades have raised all the social issues strongly, and I just want to confine myself to commenting that we have been conscious of this for a long time. We have responded and made a number of special decisions on Moscow's development. They relate to various spheres. We, both in the Central Committee and in the government, believe that this approach is correct—justified—and that Muscovites have a right to expect that your work in this direction will continue to be supported. [applause]

Of course, the general situation in the country affects Moscow. There is difficulty with retail trade and with the services sphere even in Moscow. This happens because there are shortages, especially of goods, and we are unable to satisfy consumer demand, and probably also because many people travel to Moscow to make purchases when they are unable to find goods in their areas. But just look what the situation has come to.

Presently laundry detergent has once again become just about problem No 1. At the start of last year, 80 tonnes of it were being sold per quarter, and now 240 tonnes are being sold. Something incredible is happening, do you understand? Just look: 50 tonnes of soap was being sold, and now 110 tonnes. I know that confectionary sales have increased by 15-20 percent. No. There are probably many factors working here now.

I was just saying in a conversation with the people around me that our problem with the consumer market is that it is uncoordinated. An immense monetary mass is circulating in the country's domestic market, and the necessary supply of goods is not there to meet it. In connection with this, everyone is trying to store up, even when this is not necessary. This means that the market is feverish. But there is also a large army of unscrupulous people in this sphere who make a business out of shortages. In this connection workers control spot checks in Moscow and countrywide have shown that there is stockpiling and hoarding of an immense quantity of goods in order to sell them through certain channels. This affects everything—from black caviar to children's tights. We see these things everywhere, and you have probably seen it in TRUD, which has a special section with results of the workers control work.

So now at the same time we must increase the production of goods, which is the main goal, and you must remember that, comrades. We need goods: We must work for the market. This is not all so easy to work out; it is connected with structural policy. We adopted a resolution at the start of the 5-year plan to introduce changes giving priority to the light and food industries in our country. It was only in the 3d year that we reached rates of just over 5 percent, compared with just over 3 percent for heavy industry.

The economy is huge. It has, so to speak, a certain inertia, before it all turns around. So if we want something to happen tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, we have to make a decision today, to put by these... [changes thought] to create these surpluses. All the comrades who are here, the ministers and managers of businesses and party organizations, and all Communists must know this, and turn the economy around in that direction.

Of course, comrades, I must say that we are faced with the need to take very strict measures to bring order into the country's financial management. I think you have familiarized yourselves with what I said at the meeting of 6 January. I do not want to repeat myself. But we must tackle these matters thoroughly. Last year we continued to pay out unearned money. Things won't work like that. If we are talking about our getting more and more banknotes, then it is more simple to solve it: Buy printing presses and print them. And then what? That's why we must now all be clear that money must always be earned. You may say: That must also be understood clearly in the government, insofar as our miscalculations in the economic reform have enabled some people to receive money they didn't earn. I am thinking, among others, of cooperatives. And not just that.

So let us tackle the improvement of our economy from below and above on these paths: The main thing is to increase production, and to pay only as much money as has been earned.

True, this question arises very acutely now: We must introduce a progressive tax. That is how it is throughout the world—there is progressive taxation. So we must think about how we will harmonize ours, but it must be resolved in such a way that a man has the desire to work, that he doesn't come up against that ceiling.

So this mechanism must be thought through. If we insist on leveling tendencies and approaches, we will remain where we are today. It suits very many to go to work as they used to, to get their money, and let everything continue as before. Then we will remain where we are. Then there is no need for economic reform, financial autonomy, or leasing; there is no need for anything.

But I think that we cannot go along with this. On such major, serious issues, this is where they lead: The situation in the market, you understand, affects shortages, then the market, again production, the attitude toward labor, and so on. It is not all so simple; it is not all so simple. I have said—and I want to say to you, too, dear comrades, with complete frankness—that (?you have been in favor of helping with our projects and approaches.) I don't know, perhaps they will seem too acute to you at first glance, but that is our approach. Many people now—in writing, orally, and even through the press—very many venerable people, even professional economists, not to mention economic journalists, men of letters—they the more so—are saying this: Restructuring has not yet yielded much in this matter; nothing of substance has happened in the market yet; tension remains, apathy is appearing among the working people—a negative mood with regard to restructuring, that it is not giving them anything. It seems... [changes thought] Who more than those currently leading the country would like everything to be fine tomorrow or in a week, not to mention each of you as a consumer or simply as a citizen? But we would chalk this up to our account: Look, how wonderful our policy is. But such a policy does not exist in reality.

These are very frivolous, irresponsible ideas, but they are being thrown about at all the meetings by people who want cheap publicity for themselves instead of real policies. They are not concerned about the country and the people, but only about frustrating any sympathies, so to speak. Comrades, the truth is this: We could follow the path of borrowing $1 billion to procure goods for a year or 2 years. We could have more. But what would we do the 3d year? Would we still keep getting the goods somewhere? Would we still not produce our own goods? Is that a policy? You don't need a lot of brains for that!

That is what they did when there was oil money: They borrowed and procured goods. Instead of getting scientific-technological progress moving, instead of improving quality, introducing incentives both for industrial branches and for collectives, instead of conducting a structural policy—no, they covered up all the misfortunes, you know, with that pernicious money which they had picked up because of the favorable state in the oil market. But that is not the case now, and they are in a fix. So should we follow that kind of policy? We believe that would be an irresponsible policy on our part. We will not follow such a policy. If the country reaches another opinion, then so be it; but I assure you that it would be a mistake if we were to take that course. We must create capacities which will work for the country, for the market, so that we have our own goods. We must bring the food industry to its senses. How much is it? Thirty percent of what the countryside produces perishes. All of our light industry is outdated. The chemical industry must get a move on because the whole world is making textiles which are 70 percent chemical fibers. Their quality is good, so people line up for it in the shops. So, that is the course we must take, and that is the course we have taken. We will do this: We will introduce technical progress into primary machine building, modernize all the other industries and, the main thing, carry out essential structural changes in the interests of the food and light industries, in the interests of turning the economy toward serving the individual.

But it will not happen at once, comrades. You and I must do this. We are now investing nearly twice as much in our engineering and nearly three or by now even four times as much in our electronics as we had previously, in order to open the way for scientific-technical progress. We have now adopted special programs for the light and food industries and allocated 35 billion [currency not specified] for the food, for the processing industry alone and 20 billion for the light industry. This is what we must do. We have now made the whole defense industry set up work for the light and food industries. All the defense industry people are now sweating more than they do over the most advanced aircraft. But in 2 years we are going to be getting large quantities of equipment that the country needs and which will be ours, our own, and so on. That is when all the base gets created, opened up for all this. That is our policy. Now it is difficult.

I am convinced—and I have already spoken about this—that our people, if we tell the truth about how things are, without trying to be smart, without trying to be cunning, without trying to paint a rosy picture: that we have lived through 3 years now and restructuring has turned everything around. [incomplete sentence as heard] Nothing of the sort. For the last 2 or 3 years, in order to work out a policy, you and I have been thinking: Where are we living? In what sort of a country? What is happening around us?

Only now are we getting going. Beginning this year the whole country goes over to financial autonomy. We are getting political reform going; we are restructuring the party. The labor collectives are only just beginning to feel their strength. All this is ahead of us. So where would it all have come from, comrades? But we are on the right road, a realistic road. That is the way we must proceed. Thinking about successes, you know, it all would have been fine had we been lucky, but so far this is what we have had: On the oil market, prices have gone down by a factor of four or five; Chernobyl, Armenia, Afghanistan, our old sins, and so on and so forth. All these things. And on top of that we ourselves have set about vodka. But we are not sorry about this, although here we have also lost 40 billion. I do not consider that a loss. But it is no longer in the goods turnover; goods turnover is short of that amount. We have to bear it all out, comrades, we have to bear it out, because we are getting healthy processes going—in economics, in politics, in ideology, culture, everywhere.

Is it going easily? No. Just see how painfully! Of course, there are people, comrades, on whose interests restructuring has trod hard, so to speak. It is tearing many away from their feeding troughs. Of course there are such cases. They do not applaud us, but if we are all honest, the fact is that restructuring affects us all, everywhere, both in the labor collective—through lease-holding and financial autonomy—and in industrial institutes, where money has to be earned and not received from the budget. Now I think some institutes will be closing. Some of them have been closed already because they simply were receiving money, while what they were doing was of no use to anyone; they were getting millions!

If we examine the apparatus of the ministries and the ministries themselves in order to adapt them to the current situation, probably not everyone will applaud, but that is our will; that is what we [word indistinct] at the party conference, at the congress, at the conference. It is what our whole society discussed—bad times, lean times.

However, all these processes have begun to move. We have seen how restructuring in the economy will always start off, move slowly, stumble, and perhaps even misfire. There will be a recoil movement if the political process is not moved ahead, if the people are not moved up to decisive positions in the country through democratic forms. This is where political reform comes from. So many cares! But there is simply nothing else; there is no alternative. I am convinced. My conviction is nourished by a firm faith in our people insofar as we know our people and our history; some are better and some worse. We will not bow down. See, the people have stood upright in connection with restructuring and are truly taking the fate of the country into their hands. This is the main thing. Restructuring will conquer. [applause]

A few words about party affairs: We are still, of course, in the process of coming to understand everything we need to do so that the party may truly reveal itself as the political vanguard. Up to now we simply have directed affairs through departments, but if I tell you that in our branch department, the chemical department of the Central Committee, there was an organosilicon compounds sector [laughter]—that is what party work has come to! How many matters have we overlooked! Promising matters with regard to the life of society, to people's mood, to the processes taking place in the spiritual and cultural spheres. The whole party ought to see, know, and consider this, transform it into policy and from policy into practice. Wherever we lag behind we lose, but wherever we look to the future, open up the way to new processes, there the party is rising to the occasion. So our task is to show ourselves as the true political vanguard.

No one will replace the party politically. This is not because you and I are in this party, but because experience itself shows this. The party is now a powerful force in the scope of its glasnost and democratization, its comprehension of all processes, its initiative from below—at enterprises and in the republics—it is an enormous ideological-political and integrating force. It must do this not through pressure, not through bureaucratic forms, but through policies, through its ideology, and through its cadre policy. These are the functions of the party. This is the direction in which it must transform the style and methods of its work. This means more attention to the primary party organization, to Communists, a closer link to people. This is the only way to set in motion this whole very complex and important process.

And something else: You and I live in a country where there is a one-party system. This has come about historically. The revolution began when there were several parties; now there has been one party for decades. Many people believe that for processes to develop dymamically in society a multiparty system is necessary, and they have been expressing themselves about this already.

I think this is linked. These people I would even—with the exception of a small group engaged in anti-Sovietism, and they do not count—but there are people who are worried about how the processes in the country can be made to proceed actively and dynamically—they are the people I am talking about. [sentence as heard] They are right, in the sense that a mechanism must be sought that will support active public life, that will insure monitoring of all processes, that will ensure there are no areas closed to monitoring, that everything is in the public eye, with the people participating.

I believe we must solve this, too, through political reform, through democratic mechanisms, through the preservation of glasnost and criticism. This, comrades, is a gain of restructuring which must be held onto, despite the fact that both rogues and demagogues crawl out here and there to shout about their rights and so on. It does not matter. There are fewer and fewer of them. The people understand what is happening. Froth of that kind disappears, but the main thing remains, this thing of value. We need this process of democratization and glasnost not just for such-and-such a stage, but forever. [applause] Then we are insuring permanent mechanisms that take into consideration the people's feelings, which study and accumulate opinions. On the basis of feedback it is possible to work out correct policy and to amend it in good time. That is why all of this is necessary. Therefore there is no need to be afraid. The one who is afraid is the one who occupies some particular post undeservedly and who holds on to his armchair. That person is afraid. Why should the other be afraid if he has come and his people have put their confidence in him and will support him because they—together with him, so to speak—have reached that opinion? All this is what is needed. So those who frighten us with democracy and glasnost need someone to have a heart-to-heart talk with them. This must be done by party people, and they must not be afraid of nonstandard situations and frank discussions. If a person is in favor of socialism, if he is fighting for the interests of the people, then we have to conduct a discussion with him. To the others we must say directly—and this has been said already, we have felt this already—that our people have made their choice: socialism, but a socialism that is open to people and in their interests. [applause]

Hence the party has many cares and responsibilities. It is a difficult but interesting time, as people said to me at the Kvant association. I agree. Just as some people were lucky in that they unfolded the October process, so I believe are the people who today take upon their shoulders all the cares of restructuring. The people who are living in this time are fortunate. It is, after all, a great time, for if we set aside the details and difficulties—for, in the final analysis, we do indeed have problems and details to deal with—we are doing groundwork in our lives that, when carried out, will bring us a new quality of life, a new society in which people—their interests and care for them—will be the focus of attention.

However, democracy, openness, responsibility, discipline, and law go along with this. Without this, comrades, democracy itself loses its value. I think you understand this, too. We also perceive it. When certain antisocial elements, under the pretext of democracy, begin to disorganize life in a city, republic, and so on, then we know about it. I get letters, comrades. Sometimes in telegrams people write sharply, asking where we are looking, and have we decided to destroy the country, and so on. These comrades hold nothing back in their expressions.

Comrades, we see our responsibility and will defend the law more and more with each passing day, but this must be done on the basis of law. We reject it when the most fervent restructurers propose throwing certain personnel out, ejecting them, so to speak. What sort of methods are these? Let us suppose we do it: We unfold a democratic process, intraparty democracy and openness, political reform; are we, at the same time, to use the same old methods we want to get away from and which we condemn? I tell you: That simply shows a poverty of political horizons, of intellectual potential, of the level of intellectual potential of those who are thrusting themselves into politics. You should see that also.

I am very glad that we were criticized here for perhaps not consulting often enough. I did not consider that to be the case, but if it is taken to be so, then I feel we must take note, that we must consult more with the working class. I thank you for reminding us of that. [applause]

I will wind up by wishing you, Moscow's Communists, to keep firm in your step for restructuring, to keep firm, not to fear difficulties, and to go forward, comrades, to gather experience and accumulate the skills required for working under conditions of democracy, radical economic reform, and broad openness. We have to master all this. I have no doubt that our cause will work out. [applause]

TV Shows Attending Leaders

LD2001093889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0825 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Hello comrades! The 27th report-back and election conference of the Moscow city party organization opened today in Column Hall in the House of Unions. [video shows view of the conference] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and other leaders of the Communist Party and Soviet state are participating in its work. [camera pans a section of the rostrum, where from right to left are shown Ryzhkov, Baklanov, Razumovskiy, Murakhovskiy, Gorbachev, Ligachev, Chebrikov in the first row; visible in the second row from right to left of the same rostrum section are Yazov, Maslyukov, and (?Lukyanov); Chebrikov is seen handing Ligachev something; the camera then shows the audience]

The conference delegates will discuss reports of the gorkom and Audit Commission and will elect the new composition of the Moscow Gorkom and its the Control and Audit Commission.

Comrade Zaykov is delivering a report of the Moscow Gorkom. [video shows Zaykov speaking, then shows audience]

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0730 GMT on 20 January in a similar report adds: "Participating in the conference are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov."]

'Exacting' Discussions Held

LD2101225489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Excerpts] A principled and exacting discussion of the tasks and role of the capital's Communists in strengthening revolutionary restructuring was continued by delegates to the 27th conference of the Moscow city party organization in the hall of columns in the house of the union on 21 January. [passage omitted]

All those who spoke in the debates noted that the work of the conference was characterized by a spirit of democracy and party comradeship. That helped toward constructive discussion of the complex and sometimes contradictory processes and phenomena taking place in our society at this decisive point in its development.

Discussing the report-back of the Moscow party gorkom and the report of the city party organization's Auditing Commission, the delegates stressed the necessity for improving, in accordance with the directions of the 19th all-union CPSU Conference, the forms and methods of the party and political organizational work, of stepping up the political nature of the party leadership of the masses. Such approaches are essential for the successful implementation of the large-scale tasks of restructuring in all spheres of our life.

The speeches by the representatives of the Moscow party organizations contained a healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved. Several constructive suggestions were put forward from these positions, aimed at the further restructuring of the work of the Moscow party gorkom and the party raykoms, the Mossovet executive committee and rayispolkoms, and the economic services of the city and the rayons. It was noted that it is essential to complete the working-out of the general plan of the capital region for the period up to 2010 and the all-round territorial industrial program for the speeding-up of the social and economic development of the capital, Progress-95, speedily and to start on their implementation.

In the resolution adopted by the conference on the report-back of the party gorkom on behalf of the Communists and workers of Moscow, the delegates expressed their approval of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and of the party Central Committee's practical activity in developing restructuring, which is the guarantee of its irreversibility.

The solution of many important questions of the social and economic development of the capital has been possible thanks to the constant concern of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. The conference deemed satisfactory the work of the Moscow party gorkom over the period being reported on.

Comrade Zaykov delivered the closing speech.

Comrade Gorbachev spoke at the conference. [passage omitted]

The text of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech will be published.

The conference delegates confirmed the report of the Auditing Commission of the Moscow party gorkom. A new membership of the Moscow party gorkom was elected. There were elections to the Control and Auditing Commission of the capital's party organization. The conference then concluded its work.

Gorbachev Talks Between Sessions

LD2201121589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Between party conference sessions, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with delegates. [video shows large group gathered in middle of meeting hall with Gorbachev at the center; Zaykov, Ryzhkov and Slyunkov are visible behind Gorbachev]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] All in all, there are a lot of things to do. Imagine, we now need to look into and present to society a long-term agrarian policy. That is after all, a burning issue. We're currently struggling with it and on Tuesday we will be at a Politburo session specially devoted to this problem. Why are we holding so many meetings like this and continuing to do so? Well, we need it all—everything which has accumulated—to listen to people and for them to express themselves. Otherwise, just holding a routine plenum, a routine conversation on the agrarian issue, (?that is bad).

Moreover the question has arisen, and indeed you can see how people have become involved and all society is observing: what kind of dispute is going on? And they are asking: What have we built, what kind of society up till now? And what are we building? What will our country go on to be like? Are we going to remain with these values on the whole, or are we already giving way, or where are we heading? And some worried people put the question bluntly: Where is it we are heading? And when they ask such questions, I [changes thought]—who would not ask them? This does not in the least mean that a person is against, or anything—he is a concerned person. He has grown up in this country. Many of them don't know anything else. This has become part of us, it is not [changes thought] ... We don't notice, because we live in this society, but a person who comes in has his own, different society. The issue has immediately arisen that we must, all in all, formulate and draw up—and we are now doing very sound work on—the philosophical and political principles, the foundations for the renewal of society.

We must also push the idea of what are we moving towards, of building—but what are we building, according to what plan, or is it in all directions? All this must be known. That is, the next plenum will take place and finally, you can see how our union has started to ferment: so many problems have built up. Here one people is anxious, [word indistinct] the fate of the small peoples, and there are also problems in every union republic. And in the biggest republics—in Russia—are there really few problems? Look at the center of Russia, the root of our Russian state, and (?everything generally which has happened around it), and how much concern has been aroused by the fate of the countryside at the Russian center, where the monuments and the roots of the nation and statehood are. And others, too: all this, you see, what colossal things, the party has to busy itself with all this. That's what our life is like.

[Unidentified woman] (?In the capital, too, now)

[Unidentified man] [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Yes. The cooperatives say, come on, there's no need for tax, put the tax wherever....

[Unidentified woman] We are learning.

[Gorbachev] It is now our own experience which we are observing. We have been to the socialist countries, and where [changes thought]— and to the capitalist countries where cooperatives are highly developed. And you know how much material we have brought back. That is how strictly they keep the cooperatives. The mechanisms are very tough: Economics has to be like that. They can, you know, (?pay everything out) in wages, grab the money and throw it all up.

[People in the crowd] That's what they have done.

[Gorbachev] You think we do not see? We see, we do see, we know everything. We have had all this before—again everything stems from Moscow. Everything goes straight to the Politburo, everything from nails and toothpaste to...you know...

[Unidentified man, interrupting] Yes.

[Gorbachev] But listen, we are pursuing a structured policy. We have already laid the foundations for the turnarounds and [word indistinct] of this 5-year plan. Only in the 3d year—in 1988—has Group 'P', the Light and Food Industry, outstripped heavy industry. This is because at the moment the inertia regarding the economy is colossal. Just imagine, our comrades have to overcome it.

Therefore we must get our flywheel turning in the right direction, and we are going in the right direction—there are a lot of bumps, but we do not have the experience. Our scientists are also learning along with us because it had not been ordered and science had not worked toward this. [as heard] [passage indistinct]

Now everyone, literally everyone, is learning. We do not have a sufficiently high standard, we do not have enough experience. That does not matter, however. We do have an increasing amount of consciousness, responsibility, civic duty. In terms of patriotism you cannot beat us. All this will remain in place, comrades. It is already evident now that the people are now in a condition to live; the country will never be the same as it has been.

We have many debates in the leadership, too, you must know that. We have one party. It is necessary, then, that the political process develops in such a way that the party, its activity, and the government which has been formed on the basis of a one-party system are kept under control. All this machinery must function, therefore. How else can it be? There is the press and there are the soviets which have been formed and the ones which we intend to form with extended rights. All these mechanisms will be balanced against each other. Can this happen without mistakes? No, but we must ensure that there are fewer mistakes. The main thing is that they should not be so crude as they have been in the past. That's our task. It will save democracy here, it will save discussion, scientific study. [end recording]

Gorbachev Chats With Delegates

LD2101205589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] After a debate on the report presented by the Moscow Gorkom, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev talked to delegates during an interval in the 27th conference of the Moscow party organization. Here is an excerpt of that meeting:

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] What is your mood like?

[Unidentified voices] It is fine. It is fine. Militant! We are working.

[Unidentified voice] Such tasks! You simply want to toil, to work!

[Gorbachev] The most important thing is not to lose this mood. Right now we are going through our most difficult years, the most difficult years.

[Unidentified voice] To me it seeems...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] You know, do you remember when the oil crisis began in the West and things began to break down for them—what social dramas accompanied these changes in structural policy! Remember? Coal miners, metalworkers, and literally all our people were being broken in half. They had nowhere to go [words indistinct] But we have a different situation, we have our own [word indistinct] and we should do it in accordance with our approach, our values. All the same, we at the center, must do things so that there is no deterioration, but on the contrary—even during this complex time,—so that people feel they are getting more.

I should tell you that whatever growth we are managing to get, little by little, as far as material production, the trade sphere, and goods turnover are concerned, is little felt because the amount of money that we have on the market...

[Unidentified voices, interrupting] It is great. It is very great.

[Gorbachev, continuing] ...is colossal. We have issued, you know, so much money.

[Unidentified voice] We have began reconstruction in our rayon.

[Gorbachev] That is why this year we have a 25-billion [unit not specified] increase in trade turnover. Is that right?

[?Zaykov] Yes, last year, 25.

[Gorbachev] We never have had that before. There used to be 10 or 8 or 6 billion. No one ever [words indistinct].

[Unidentified voice] The wages [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Now we have to conduct reform, both economic and political. The main thing is not to lose our mood. [end recording]

Session Continues 21 Jan

LD2101074289 Moscow TASS in English 0738 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The 27th conference of the Moscow party organisation continued its work today. It is being attended by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and other party and state leaders.

Delegates of the conference analyse the work done by the organisation and outline further tasks connected with deepening perestroyka and achieving concrete, tangible results in all the sphere of the Moscow life. They express support for a policy pursued by the Soviet Communist Party which is aimed at a dramatic rejuvenation of Soviet society and the desire to increase the contribution of Muscovites to its implementation.

TV Shows Leaders at 21 Jan Meeting

LD2101151689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 21 Jan 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The 27th conference of the Moscow CPSU organization continued in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions today. Taking part in it are Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and other leaders of the CPSU and USSR. Delegates of the conference analyzed the work done so far and acute problems that remain and outlined further tasks to deepen restructuring and achieve concrete and tangible results in all spheres of life in the capital. [video shows Gorbachev and Zaykov walk onto the platform, followed by Ryzhkov, Ligachev, Chebrikov, Yazov, Vorotnikov, Lukyanov, and Biryukova. A further shot reveals Medvedev, Nikonov, Shevardnadze, (?Razumovskiy), and (?Vlasov) filing to their seats on the platform. The seating at the front of the platform is, left to right of screen, Ligachev, Gorbachev, Zaykov and Ryzhkov]

Zaykov Re-elected 1st Secretary

LD2101174689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—An organizational plenum of the Moscow CPSU gorkom that was newly elected at the 27th city party conference took place today. It was opened by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Georgiy Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum proceedings.

Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected first secretary of Moscow city party committee.

At a plenum of the Control and Auditing Commission, T.P. Arkhipova was elected its chairman.

Delegates Discuss Election Campaign

LD2201014189 Moscow TASS in English 0125 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The 27th conference of the Moscow city party organisation on Saturday dealt with the tasks of Moscow Communists in extending the "perestroyka" reform programme. Taking part in its work were members and alternate members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegates noted that the report and election campaign showed that the struggle against the outdated approaches had yielded positive results: The party apparatus was reduced and the streamlined structure made it possible to clearly delimit its functions with the Soviet and economic bodies.

A resolution on the report of the Moscow city party committee which was endorsed at the conference stressed that there had been more collective leadership, openness and political balance in the work of the city committee. At the same time the conference noted that the CPSU City Committee still lacked the purposefulness in asserting the new approaches in party work. The conference believed it necessary, for the purpose of raising the efficiency of the work of the Moscow city committee, to form from the members and candidate members to the party city committee commissions on the main areas of the city party organisation. It was noted that the CPSU city and regional committees were called upon to overcome the formalist and nomenclature approach to the selection and deployment of the personnel.

Lev Zaykov delivered a closing speech. He said that the transition to political methods of leadership, the assertion of supremacy of elected bodies over the party apparatus, the renunciation of the efforts to substitute for Soviet and economic bodies and extension of democracy in relations inside the party are the main guidelines for perfecting our work.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke at the conference.

During the break Mikhail Gorbachev spoke with the delegates about the guidelines and methods of stepping up the activity of party bodies, ways of improving the social and economic standard of living in Moscow. Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the conviction that the Communists, all Musocvites will be able under the leadership of the city party organisation to attain more weighty results in all areas of the revolutionary renewal of socialist society.

Gorbachev, Delegates Lay Wreath

LD2001225789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A wreath was laid today at the mausoleum of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Its ribbon is inscribed: To Vladimir Ilich Lenin, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet state, from the delegates of the 27th Moscow City Conference of the CPSU.

Taking part in the ceremony were Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, other leaders of the party and government, and delegates to the 27th Moscow City conference. The conference continues tomorrow. (video shows ceremony)

KGB Deputy on Hijacking, Foreign Cooperation

LD2101134889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Excerpts] On an initiative of the Lenin Children's Fund, a meeting was held in Moscow of 30 schoolchildren and their teacher (Nataliya Yefimova) with the participants in the Thunder Operation. It is to be recalled that on 1 December 1988, in the north Caucasian city Ordzhonokidze, a group of bandits captured a school bus and demanded in exchange $2 million and a plane to leave for Israel. As a result of the Thunder Operation, noted for the well- calculated actions of the security services, courage of the hostages, and cooperation with the Israeli Government, bloodshed was prevented. The terrorists were extradited to the Soviet authorities and will be brought before an open court. [passage omitted]

Referring to the events in Ordzhonokidze, Lt-General of the Internal Forces Anatoliy Anikiyev said:

[Begin Anikiyev recording in Russian fading into English translation] Unfortunately such cases are becoming rather frequent in the world. This greatly damages humanity and concrete individuals. And the situation when children are used for selfish and mean goals looks horrible and antihumane. Luckily there are only a few such cases in our country. I can say that they are exceptions from the rules. However, we have elaborated and are carrying out measures for preventing and checking criminal dealings.

The Thunder Operation has manifested the tremendous benefit of the international cooperation on the basis of humanism and ensuring people's security. We counted on Israel's cooperation. We're sure that not a single country would support bandits. We are grateful to the Israeli authorities for extraditing the criminals. We, says Anatoliy Anikiyev, favor the closest cooperation with all countries and bodies engaged in such activities, so that nothing like that happens in any spot of the planet. Such cooperation is an efficient preventive means of protection against international and, in particular, air terrorism. [end recording]

We asked the deputy chairman of the State Security Committee, General Vitaliy Ponomarev, to comment on the situation.

[Begin Ponomarev recording in Russian fading into English translation] I wish to stress that since the very inception of the state security bodies they have been noted for carrying out the most humane functions and in the course of our entire history we have been trying to fulfill them, says Vitaliy Ponomarev. They are the protection of our state and our society as well as the protection of our motherland from outside encroachments. All our forces and resources are aimed at that. We are doing that for our people to be able to work peacefully, and today specifically, at resolving the priorities of perestroyka. [end recording]

What is you attitude to the allegation of certain Western circles that the Soviet State Security Committee is an accomplice in engineering some acts of international terrorism?

[Begin Ponomarev in Russian fading into English translation] I can say, says Vitaliy Ponomarev, that it probably suits some circles to say that, to somehow split and separate the state and society from the State Security Committee. But it is also to be remembered that no one has ever succeeded in that and will not succeed in that. We, the State Security Committee, are a part of our society. Terrorism is not inherent in the nature of our society and the security bodies. [end recording]

Is the State Security Committee ready for cooperation, say, with the American Central Intelligence Agency, the British intelligence service, the Israeli and other security services in the name of strengthening the international law and order and the security of Soviet citizens?

[Begin Ponomarev recording in Russian fading into English translation] Certainly, says Lt-Gen Vitaliy Ponomarev. If our forces are coordinated, all committed acts of a terroristic nature in the past including air piracy are regarded and studied and everything new and the fruits of the scientific and technological progress are involved, then much can be done. For the purposes of humanism and the protection of human lives I admit unification of every effort, irrespective of the political and social system, our ideological divergencies—in the spirit, as we say, of the new political thinking. This must become a priority. I'm optimistic. I think that at any rate much can be prevented, says the deputy chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee, Vitaliy Ponomarev. Really, if all clashes with terrorists end up like the Soviet Thunder operation, there is every ground for optimism. [end recording]

Science Academy Fails To Nominate Sakharov

PM2001190989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[A. Davydov report under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies" and the general heading "First Stage Coming To a Close": "More Mandates Than Contenders"]

[Text] The session of the enlarged presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences devoted to nominating candidates for people's deputy has attracted special attention. The collective of the Academy of Sciences submitted 130 candidates recommended by academy centers, departments, and institutes for an open discussion, without any preliminary "screening." Under the leadership of Academician V. Kotelnikov, the electoral commission totally rejected traditional attempts to regulate the course of the event. It limited its tasks to monitoring compliance with legislation and endeavored to create the necessary working conditions for the session participants. As expected, it began in the morning and only came to a close late in the evening.... However, judging by the mood of the session participants leaving the hall of the House of Scientists, the results were not a source of general satisfaction.

Long before the enlarged presidium started work, many academy collectives expressed the wish that the number of candidates nominated exceed the 25 deputy mandates allocated to organizations under the Academy of Sciences. But the nominations not only resulted in there being no alternatives to have to choose between—there were even two "vacancies".... How could it happen that, with a democratic approach, there should be such an unexpected result, almost turning the future elections into a formal casting of votes?

First of all, the lack of experience in conducting such ventures is clearly telling. The session had only just begun when a problem arose—how should the nomination procedure be conducted in practice? Someone suggested considering each of the 130 candidates separately. This approach was opposed by Academician A. Sakharov, who urged that the recommendations of the scientific collectives be fully supported and the vote taken on the list as a whole. A long discussion resulted in a compromise solution: To discuss the candidates only if there was disagreement, conduct the vote by secret ballot, and consider the candidates who collected more than half of the votes as nominated. If any participant in the session did not know the candidate recommended, it was agreed that the opinion of the collective which had shown faith should hold good. However, as the counting of the votes showed, this agreement was violated.

"When collectives which have recommended people ask us why we rejected this or that candidate," Academician I. Gelfand said during the discussion that developed on the results of the vote, "I am sure that they will not receive any intelligent answer. We simply struck off the names of those about whom we have nothing to say and who are not known to us personally. How are we going to be able to look our colleagues in the face!"

However, far from everyone in the hall shared this categorical opinion. Academicians A. Aleksandrov, V. Kudryavtsev, and I. Makarov believed that the results of the vote were perfectly democratic.

A decision was adopted not to hold any more elections to fill the two vacant mandates. It was agreed to give them to scientific societies incorporated in the USSR Academy of Sciences which are conducting their own election campaigns.

These are the results of the USSR Academy of Sciences enlarged presidium session.

In the general opinion, the candidates who collected the requisite number of votes are perfectly worthy of representing the academy on the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Those nominated include: S. Alekseyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Philosophy and Law Institute of the Urals Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician Zh. Alferov, director of the Leningrad Physical Technical Institute; Academician A. Galonov-Grekhov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Applied Physics Institute; Academician O. Nefedov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician Yu. Osipyan, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician V. Platonov, president of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences....

At the same time, the following failed to pick up the requisite number of votes: Academician A. Aganbegyan; USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member P. Bunich; Doctor of Historical Sciences I. Bestuzhev-Lada; Yu. Karyakin, Senior Scientific Staffer of the International Workers Movement Institute; Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Lisichkin; Academician D. Likhachev; Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Popov; Academician R. Sagdeyev; Doctor of Economic Sciences N. Shmelev; USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member A. Yablokov; and Academician A. Yanshin.

There can be no doubt that from a formal-procedural viewpoint the nomination was conducted democratically and the law was observed—this is an incontestable fact. However, if we approach the essence of the matter, we cannot fail to notice a manifest discrepancy between the will of academy collectives and the decision adopted by the higher organization. A whole number of scientific workers who gained the trust simultaneously of a large number of organizations locally failed to come through the competition at the center. Approximately 60 institutes, for example, expressed a desire to see Academician A. Sakharov as their candidate, but he too failed to pick up the requisite number of votes. It is also a noteworthy fact that they were exclusively leading workers of the USSR Academy of Sciences who received support in the nomination.

The results of the secret ballot caused overt disappointment to many participants in the session. But there is no one at whom to take offense: No one imposed decisions, they adopted them independently, and the session participants bear responsibility for the results.

Writers Union Nominates Candidate Deputies

PM2001170189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent V. Malukhin report under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies" and under the general heading "First Stage Approaching Conclusion": "Writers' Debate. Report from the USSR Writers Union Board Plenum"]

[Text] The nomination of candidate people's deputies was the second item on the agenda of the USSR Writers Union Board plenum, held in Moscow's Central Literary Workers' House 17-19 January. Priority was given to examination of the package of problems concerning the threat to man's habitat. Yu. Chernichenko delivered a report on "The Earth, Ecology, the New Stage of Restructuring, and Literature." At the conclusion of the debate, the plenum adopted an address to the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the USSR Ministry of Health. "The Fatherland Is in Ecological Danger!"—this was how writers formulated their concern about the state of affairs in the sphere of environmental protection.

The unanimity and mutual understanding which marked that stage of the plenum's work rapidly diminished when the nomination of candidate deputies got underway. There were 10 mandates to be contested by 88 candidates nominated by republic, kray, and oblast writers' organizations. Differences of opinion emerged right at the stage when procedural questions were discussed. Had there been a secret ballot, there was a risk of repeating the awkward experience of the Theater Workers Union, the Architects Union, and the Painters Union, whose plenums resulted in endless rounds of voting which, like a stalemate situation in chess, failed to produce any advantage to any single contestant for hours on end. The viewpoint of those objected to an open ballot was expressed by S. Mikhalkov who declared that he would not raise his hand to vote against most delegates, but crossing someone's name off the list is a different matter. A compromise alternative was suggested: Raise hands only when voting "for," and do not take a vote "against..."

And so, the ballot was to be secret, but first there were to be withdrawals of candidacy and additions to the list. Ch. Aytmatov, V. Belov, I. Vasilyev, D. Granin, V. Karpov, and B. Oleynik appear on the CPSU ballot paper. Kh. Durdyyev has been elected secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. R. Gamzatov, Yu. Bondarev, M. Kanoat, D. Kugultinov, and O. Suleymenov are on their territorial okrug ballot papers. A. Zhukov, M. Karim, Yu. Karyakin, V. Lichutin, M. Sherali, A. Mikhaylov, E. Safonov, A. Strelyanyy, A. Chepurov, M. Shakhanov, V. Shugayev, and V. Romanov withdrew their candidacies... The names of F. Aliyeva, A. Voznesenskiy, Yu. Voronov, and V. Sangi were put down on the ballot paper. The final outcome was 70 candidates, a "contest" between 7 persons for every "seat..."

The first round failed to give a single one of the contestants the number of votes necessary for "outright" victory, and thus a group of 18 leaders went through to the second round. G. Baklanov withdrew his candidacy. A. Yakubov was added by an open ballot, because there was not a single representative of writers from Central Asia and Kazakhstan among the 18. Votes were cast for the second time. After the votes had been counted, it emerged that only 5 candidates had gained the requisite number of votes (50 percent plus 1 vote). They were Yu. Martsinkyavichyus, V. Rasputin, O. Chiladze, Yu. Voronov, and V. Bykov. At least another five had to be elected in addition to them.

Plenum participants took the floor one after the other, calling on their comrades to display a broad vision and sense of responsibility, to vote for those who ought to be supported in the common interest. Consensus was achieved: V. Astafyev, S. Zalygin, A. Yakubov, O. Gonchar, and I. Chobanu were elected. In addition to that, it was proposed to also put to the vote the candidacy of L. Leonov, who had repeatedly refused to stand as candidate deputy in the past but had now given his consent. The vote for Leonov had to be taken once, then once again before he won the required number of votes. It was proposed to vote for S. Kaputikyan—Yu. Chernichenko withdrew his candidacy in her favor, but S. Kaputikyan also withdrew. There was then a vote for V. Sangi as representative of the interests of smaller ethnic groups, but he fell short of one vote. It appeared that A. Ananyev, who had left to attend an editorial collegium session, had asked that his vote be cast for V. Sangi. The chairman congratulated him on his nomination, and the voting thus came to an end. Who failed to cover the distance? Among the others who dropped out at various stages were A. Adamovich, A. Voznesenskiy, V. Dudintsev, Ye. Yevtushenko, V. Korotich, G. Lisichkin, G. Matevosyan, S. Mikhalkov, B. Mozhayev, Ye. Nosov, A. Pristavkin, V. Soloukhin, Yu. Rytkhzu...

Over the 2 days taken by the ballot, people repeatedly raised a question which could be formulated as follows: Personality or locality, purely electoral or representative elections? For example, D. Pavlychko bluntly suggested that the quota allocated to the Writers Union be split as follows: One mandate each for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the Transcaucasus, the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Moldavia, two mandates for the RSFSR, and two mandates for smaller ethnic groups. Essentially, the writers unions from the three Baltic republics acted in line with this principle by delegating Yu. Martsinkyavichyus as their sole candidate, who did win an absolute majority of votes. The interests of peoples and cultures need to be protected, and this is why the participants in the plenum, who gathered in Moscow from all over the country, so strongly wished to see "their" candidates elected. At the same time, representatives of the Central Asian republics, for example, actively supported S. Zalygin's candidacy since he had devoted so much energy to the solution of the region's ecological problems. The final list of candidates actually makes it possible to speak about a successful combination of the two nomination principles. And so, 12 candidates, 10 of whom will be elected deputies from the USSR Writers Union ballot paper... There were quite high "passions" at the plenum but, in any case, it taught its delegates a practical lesson in democracy, a new approach toward writers' participation in the people's sociopolitical life.

The plenum granted G. Markov's request to be relieved of duties as chairman of the USSR Writers Union Board. It was recommended by a majority vote that all journal chief editors, and directors and chief editors of publishing houses who have held these positions for more than 10 years be replaced by 1 July 1989.

TV Reports Central Electoral Commission Session

LD2001094389 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1515 GMT on 19 January carries a 30-minute program entitled "Power to the Soviets! In the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR." The program opens with a general statement by commission chairman V.P. Orlov on the course of the election campaign so far. Various participants in the session then elucidate certain organizational matters, such as the timescale for electoral procedures, the language in which documents are printed, and supervision of vote-counting. Concerning the language issue, P.A. Azizbekova, director of the Azerbaijani History Museum of the AZSSR Academy of Sciences remarks: "We should ensure that all the protocols and certain identity documents are printed in two languages, particularly for the remote areas where people don't speak Russian very well. They should be printed in the local language." This point is supported by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He explains: "Comrades, I give my fullest support to this proposal on languages. This is no idle matter—it's one of respect for the people and, at the same time, we're talking about addressing the voter. If we are to tell the voter to cross out one candidate and leave another we have to address him in his own language. We have many republics, especially in the remote areas, where people speak just one language. So I give my fullest support to this idea. But I have another proposal: We have not yet explained to which body an electoral commission should apply in case of need. After all, the commission will be linked not only to the constituency commission—it is, if you like, the most important commission, the epicenter of the whole election operation. Anyway, they should apply, first and foremost, to the local soviet. This being the case, wouldn't it be worth including here a paragraph on what the local soviets are to do should a commission apply to them, on whom the comrades on the commissions should apply to? This is exceptionally important. I've come here directly from a sitting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, chaired by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Today we discussed specifically the question of the local soviets' work or tasks as regards helping the electoral commissions to run the election campaigns. We listened to the chairmen of the presidiums of the Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, and Moldavia, and representatives from the Ukraine and other republics spoke. The soviets must do their utmost to help the electoral commissions. To me, then, it's very important, given that we're talking about the most important commission—the electoral commission that is actually running the election—for us to indicate who it should apply to, and what help it is entitled to from the local soviet in carrying out its very important work. Of course, the commission is actually formed by the local soviet."

Next to speak is Yu.I. Ryzhov, secretary of the commission who says: "I think we should make note in this document of the need to ensure a business-like atmosphere at the polling stations on election day. To this day, unfortunately, the practice of placing pioneers beside the ballot boxes continues, the booths are overdecorated with unnecessary items which interfere with the voting, and there are many superfluous people at the polling station. As far as all this is concerned, we have to issue strict instructions to stop any interference in the commissions' work—no pomp and circumstance, there should be a calm working atmosphere."

Orlov then notes that monitoring of the election campaign has shown that it is proceding in a "genuinely business-like and democratic atmosphere," and that the growing number of letters from citizens indicates that people refuse to tolerate legal or procedural irregularities. On the subject of electoral campaigns within public organizations, Orlov states that the candidates being put forward there are "in general, upstanding people capable of making a worthy contribution to the work of the supreme body of state power that will soon be elected."

A.A. Mikhaylov, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Writers then asks: "Is the fact that the Party Central Committee plenum nominated precisely the number of candidates allocated to it as a public organization in line with the spirit of democratism? Is not this unanimity reminiscent of the voting mechanism characteristic of times past?" Orlov replies: "It is fully in line, and does not in the least represent the kind of voting mechanism you're talking about. The CPSU candidates were put forward by all the party organizations, from the bottom up. This has never happened before. Candidates used to be nominated from above, but these 100 candidates have been selected from the bottom up to the top, and then selected by the Party Central Committee plenum, the party's supreme body. There have been no violations of the democratic foundations."

Mikhaylov interrupts to ask about secret voting at the plenum, to which Orlov replies: "Why is it necessary to have a choice of candidates in a secret ballot? One can vote or not vote, so a choice remains, the very fullest choice. If any of those nominated on the list of the Party Central Committee fail to gain enough votes during the secret ballot it means they are not elected. They must obtain at least one half of the votes." Mikhaylov interjects: "There's a difficulty here, because we are recommending that there be alternative candidates everywhere, but the Communist Party seems to be some kind of exception. Will this enhance the authority of the CPSU?"

Orlov replies: "It is not only the Communist Party; we've got five candidates for five seats from the Union of Friendship Societies—another public organization—and the Kolkhoz Council has put forward the same number of candidates as seats. The Music Society has put forward one candidate for one seat—Comrade Arkhipov—and there can be no doubts here as regards democratism." Ryzhov backs Orlov's remarks by saying that "it depends on your understanding of democracy. Some think that if a few people can get someone through, so to speak, then it's democratic. But others think that if more than half vote against a candidate, then that is democratic. So, you see, there are different approaches to understanding democracy, and each body has the right, within the law, to decide on these issues."

V.V. Aksenov, USSR cosmonaut and deputy chairman of the Board of the Soviet Peace Fund, then raises the matter of the ban on ministers standing for election as a deputy. In some cases, he says, first deputy ministers are being nominated for election. What would happen if, after being elected, they are promoted to ministers? Lukyanov replies: "If a first deputy minister subsequently becomes a minister he will have to give up his deputy's seat, under the law. That is, he can either remain a deputy or else be a minister."

Orlov ends the meeting by urging commission members to give more interviews to the media and supply the public with more information.

The program ends with brief interviews with Lieutenant General V.S. Nechayev, deputy head of Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and B.V. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice, both of whom express satisfaction with the commission's work.

First Stage of Election Process Assessed

*PM2001110289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[V. Dolganov "Theme of the Day": "The People Know Their Candidates Personally"]

[Text] The first stage of the election campaign is near its end. The nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies from social organizations and electoral okrugs and the formation of electoral districts is due to be completed by January 24. Therefore, this week is bound to be packed with important events and intense political campaigning.

There is much that we have to get used to in the conditions of the new system of the political organization of society and the formation of the corps of deputies. In particular, we have to get used to the fact that unlike many past decades the election campaign is not a vote for "someone nominated from above" or a prearranged list but a keen contest and an open choice of people capable of advancing restructuring. When we read in the newspapers the names of the candidates registered by the CPSU we find in that list alongside the names of CPSU Central Committee Politburo members the names of progressive, modern minded leaders of industry and agriculture and workers of enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. The party has nominated some well known scientists and outstanding figures from culture, art, and public education as its candidates. We know virtually every one of them by their contribution to the struggle for the radical transformation of our society's economy and spiritual life.

The meetings of social organizations have also been held in an atmosphere far from the complacent "unanimity" of past years. After many hours of discussion and debate and from the tens and hundreds of candidates nominated by primary organizations, those who have given a good account of themselves as active participants in restructuring were elected on behalf of the Komsomol, the union Council of Kolkhozes, the "Znaniye" Society, the Union of Theatrical Workers, The Peace Fund (together with eight other committees advocating peace, solidarity, and international cooperation), the Culture Fund, and other organizations. Now account is also being taken of both the merits of prospective USSR people's deputies and their ability to struggle for the interests of their voters and respond sensitively to working people's social and political needs.

The innovative nature of the approaches was due not only to the thorough and impartial discussion of each candidacy. The election procedure itself has become more democratic. It is noteworthy that in many social organizations, even after the most rigorous selection, alternative candidates remain—this will sharpen the election struggle and make each candidate work for the electors' vote by offering meaningful programs and stepping up their professional and social activity. Komsomol members set a fine example: The Komsomol Central Committee plenum has taken a decision to equip the conference hall at the Orlenok Hotel, where plenums are held, with a voting machine.

The plenums held last week were at the center of attention of the leading organs of the trade unions, the Committee of Soviet Women, the War and Labor Veterans Council, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and other social organizations, which have to nominate their candidate deputies now. It is to be hoped that they will try to avoid their predecessors' mistakes. Because all innovations have at times been affected by attempts, through inertia, to "mold the opinion" of the plenum participants beforehand, to avoid a struggle in the final stage, and to impose the candidacy of people who have served well in the past but who have not given a good account of themselves as real champions of restructuring. In many social organizations, unfortunately, the candidates' lists featured few ordinary members or representatives of primary cells.

And even if we are becoming accustomed to election campaigning as a political struggle we should not forget those forces which are trying to put a brake on restructuring and to foist on society their views and a system of neutralizing opponents which is far from democratic in its principles. We must all be prepared for the fact that various demagogues and "champions" of the people, hiding behind and exploiting the slogans of glasnost, are trying to give society a lesson in anti-democracy and to turn the preelection forum into a platform for the propagation of dubious ideas.

Finally, during the preelection campaigning we must clearly understand the problems in various spheres of our life which require immediate solution.

Latvian 'Extremists' Protest Army Presence

PM2001095989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev dispatch: "Extremism Against the Backdrop of Democracy. Who Is Demonstrating at the Headquarters of the Baltic Military District and Why They Are Demonstrating"]

[Excerpts] Riga, 19 Jan—The inhabitants of Riga seem to be finding it difficult to get used to the demonstrators who are appearing, as a rule, at the busiest spots in the capital, near administrative buildings. Visitors view them with curiosity, as if they just stepped out of a newsreel report about life "over there," and read their placards.

A group of people with placards and banners gathered at the republic council of ministers building. One placard read: "What is more precious, paper or people's health?"

"What's going on?" I asked a man of retirement age holding a placard.

It emerged that the demonstrators had gathered to protest the extremely alarming ecological situation in a number of rayons of the republic. [passage omitted]

However, the inhabitants of Riga are also familiar with other kinds of demonstrators. From time to time they appear at the headquarters of the Baltic Military District, the Riga gorispolkom, and other places where they can draw attention to themselves. They also describe themselves as fighters; however, they evoke entirely different sentiments in the people around them. On their placards there are vicious words and reckless and inflammatory demands. Their aim is to inflame the situation and whip up unhealthy passions.

"Latvia Without Soviet Arms" was scrawled on one of the placards. Another contained the demand that the "occupation forces" be withdrawn from the republic.

What occupation forces? True, the German fascist occupation forces were here, and many Latvians of the older generation personally experienced their renowned order. [passage omitted]

But no, the demonstrators and those who inspired them have very different "occupation forces" in mind. Extremists from the "Helsinki-86" and "Movement for Latvian National Independence" groups and their leaders Yu. Vidinsh and E. Berklav, who incidentally are members of the Popular Front duma and use its prestige as a cover, claim that the occupation of Latvia continues to this day. They have even taken it upon themselves to ask the United Nations "on behalf of the entire Latvian people" to demand that the USSR withdraw its "occupation forces" from Latvia, invite UN observers to the republic, and restore the independence of the Baltic countries. All this is served up under the banner of restructuring and the struggle for "genuine" democracy.

Are these "gentlemen" aware that during the Great Patriotic War it was Soviet servicemen with "Soviet arms" who liberated the republic and that some 150,000 of them gave their lives for the freedom and independence of Latvia? [passage omitted]

Here is the opinion of Private Yu. Kruzitis: "I am a Latvian myself, but these slogans simply make me angry. I am particularly surprised to see women carrying the placards. How can they raise up their sons to defend our motherland?"

V. Krumin, Great Patriotic War participant and chairman of the republic council of war and labor veterans, Captain First Rank Ya. Lochmelis, chairman of the republic DOSAAF Central Committee, and many others with whom I was able to discuss this, rate such escapades as blatant extremism and political shortsightedness and irresponsibility.

A recent Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum condemned adventurism and the attempts to whip up anti-Soviet, separatist sentiments by speculating on various difficulties and problems. At the plenum, answers to many questions that are perturbing people were given. For instance, to the questions about the so-called "occupation" of Latvia, about national military formations, about military departments at VUZ's: "Our stance on these questions is clear," Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, emphasized in his speech at the plenum. "We favor detente and arms reduction. However, it would be naive to assume that the need for an army has vanished. Even today every young man must pass through the school of courage and tempering, for the defense of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen. Dismantling the existing structure of the Armed Forces and creating individual military formations in each republic and each national okrug would hardly be expedient now, when the reduction of forces is beginning."

It would seem that everything ought to be clear and that the inhabitants of Riga will finally be rid of the placards with cynical inscriptions on display in their streets. But no. A few days ago demonstrators could again be seen at the building of the republic television center, where a discussion with young people about life in the Armed Forces was being held with the participation of the military. The same faces, the same placards. It seems there is no getting rid of them.

100 Protest Lithuanian Draft Language Decree

LD1901150589 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Summary] A demonstration in support of the status of the Lithuanian language as the official language of this republic was held today at the Supreme Soviet Presidium palace in Vilnius. The demonstrators were protesting the definitions of a draft decree which, according to the majority of our society, allows too many rights for the functioning of the Russian language. About 10 of the 100 protesters made speeches. Some demonstrators then approached the door of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium palace. Two representatives of the Presidium acquainted the protesters with the draft decree, which is to be considered by permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

Lithuanian Language Society Holds Congress

LD2201002489 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Today a congress which reestablished the Society of the Lithuanian Language was held at the Vilnium University. Prominent linguists, writers, teachers of the Lithuanian language and public figures of Lithuania participated in the conference.

The society is going to stimulate the development of the Lithuanian language and its preservation as one of the basics of national consciousness. It will fight against the distortions and abuses of the Lithuanian language and for the realization of the constitutional article proclaiming the Lithuanian language the state language of Lithuania.

The society will also try to develop the usage of the Lithuanian language in state and public affairs. The improvement of teaching Lithuanian at all kinds of schools caring for good usage of Lithuanian in the mass media, the development of scientific terminology and doing research work into Lithuanian dialect are also among the priority aims of the society.

It was decided to start publishing anew the magazine ("GIMES KURYA KALBA") "NATIVE LANGUAGE," which was published in Lithuania in prewar years and in the United States in the postwar period. A more detailed account of this congress will be broadcast next week.

Lithuania's Sakalauskas on Regional Independence

LD1901175089 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Commenting on the concept of regional self-dependence, which was recently discussed at the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Lithuania Vytautas Sakalauskas said that Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia had made a big step forward in this field. The understanding of economic self-dependence taken into account, these republics had developed their concepts and are seeking the maximum. Yet, the interest of other Soviet republics is not equal and the final decision on this question is not being made by the three Baltic republics, remarked the Lithuanian prime minister.

At the session in Moscow the representatives of Lithuania have categorically come out for several variants of the concept of economic self-dependence because the local conditions were different. Yet, the point of view was not supported there. There is yet another contradiction because Lithuania is seeking to introduce the principles of economic independence from the beginning of the comming year. In the meantime the central organs in Moscow recommend to start these principles a year later.

At the same time Lithuanian Prime Minister Vytautas Sakaluaskas stressed that Lithuania's concept of economic self-dependence, which includes its own monetary system, was not cancelled.

Moscow Soiree Commemorates Lithuanian Poet

PM2001135389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Lithuanian Literary Classic"]

[Excerpts] The birth of Lithuanian literature is linked with that remarkable poem "Seasons." A ceremonial soiree held 17 January in Moscow's House of Unions Hall of Columns was devoted to the 275th anniversary of its writer's birth. [passage omitted].

The soiree was attended by A.-M.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; R.M. Gorbacheva; V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; and A.Ya. Degtyarev, first deputy cheief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department.

NKAO Special Administration Commences Work

Administrator Volskiy Meets Workers

PM2001201089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[S. Taranov report: "Stepanakert, 20 January: IZVESTIYA Special Correspondent Reports From the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Introduction of a Special Form of Administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of the Azerbaijan SSR" has come into force.

...Tables were removed from the canteen of the Stepanakert capacitor plant, and seats were brought in. Nevertheless, people were standing in the passages and along the walls. They were listening to A. Volskiy, chairman of the Committee for the Administration of NKAO.

There was no need to introduce Arkadiy Ivanovich. This is his 6th month in the autonomous oblast—he has been at the capacitor plant many times and knows many workers, engineers, and technologists by sight. You can feel that they value him for his candor, principledness, and sincere desire to understand and help the Karabakh inhabitants.

For the first time the autonomous oblast, while remaining part of the union republic, will tackle questions of state, economic, and sociocultural building under the direct jurisdiction of USSR central organs. However, what guarantee is there that these measures will make it possible to resolve the oblast's chronic problems? There is a guarantee but it will work only under one, indispensable condition. On the condition that the decisions of the special administration committee are backed by the actions of the Karabakh people. This is why explanatory work is so important now. This is why the new organ of power began its activities with this work.

What is the lineup of the committee? Volskiy was asked.

Arkadiy Ivanovich explains that the committee is made up of eight people. V. Mishin, AUCCTU secretary in charge of culture, education, and health care; V. Sidorov, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee; Internal Forces Major General S. Kupreyev; and V. Plisov, USSR deputy minister of heavy and transport machine building. Three members of the committee are from Karabakh: S. Babayan, chairman of the oblispolkom; V. Tovmasyan, chairman of the People's Control Committee; and V. Dzhafarov, first secretary of the Shushinskiy party raykom. Three places on the committee are still vacant. They are intended for leaders who prove themselves in the process of settling the situation in Karabakh.

And Obkom First Secretary G. Pogosyan? What about him? Genrikh Andreyevich is present at the meeting with the plant's collective. He explains that he has decided to retire—for health reasons.

How will the committee administer the oblast? The biggest difficulties exist in the establishment of economic management. Many of the oblast's enterprises and organizatons fall under the jurisdiction of republic organs, but the basis of their relations is obsolete and bureaucratic in nature. The problem therefore arises: Is it expedient to reproduce it in the new conditions? For instance, is it worth setting up ministries and main administrations in the NKAO? Even without them there are more than enough offices which spawn papers and instructions. Therefore many people here believe that the time has come to give up the "edict" economy and to proceed more boldly toward economic accountability relations.

A. Volskiy is convinced that it is possible, based on the example of NKAO, to work out an optimum model of territorial economic accountability involving economic accountability relations based on equal rights. For instance, if it is advantageous for the capacitor plant to cooperate with enterprises in Baku, let them conclude a contract. If there is good reason for turning to partners in Yerevan, Moscow, or Turkmenia, let them work together, as long as nobody loses out.

However, relations of this kind place a special responsibility on labor collectives and each individual worker. To begin with the country will, of course, help Karabakh out. Hundreds of millions of rubles have been allocated to the autonomous oblast. Housing, roads, new schools, stadiums, swimming pools, reconstruction and retooling of enterprises, many of which are extremely run down and obsolete—all this is among the priority concerns of the special administration committee.

The corrupt economy has affected people's moral health, G. Pogosyan said at the meeting. Now many of the mistakes of the past are being rectified. The time for a spiritual cleansing of the people has come. It is necessary to gather courage and forget the grievances...

Most people understand: The return to a normal life will be difficult. There are also skeptics, and people who have cut themselves off under the spell of yesterday's slogans. But what alternative can there be to peace and well-being on this earth?!

TV Reports Volskiy Remarks

LD2001205589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The special administration committee of Nagorno-karabakh Autonomous Oblast today began its work in Stepanakert. It has been set up in accordance with a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 12 January 1989.

[Correspondent, in video report] In fact, without waiting for today, the members of the committee have already met the kollektivs of the major enterprises of Stepanakert. At the condenser works, Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, the chairman of the committee, was inundated with questions at the meeting. Neither this nor any other region of the country has any experience of working in the conditions of special administration—the form which has been introduced in the NKAO. It is something new. In addition strained interethnic relations have developed in and around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

[Volskiy, shown addressing workers] If we were to open an account book, even now, and start noting on the left the times we have been badly treated, and on the right the occasions we ourselves have given offense, and if we were to keep such a register and start balancing out the rights and wrongs, neither one group of people nor the other would gain anything by it. Such bookkeeping as to who treated whom worse, and when, does no one any good. What we have to do now is look to the future, so that our children will not experience this.

[Correspondent] There is something else that is causing concern to the people. There is an awarness here that the session is taking place at the start of a radical economic reform, and the months of strikes have imposed a heavy burden on the economy of the enterprises. Will the lost time be made up? How will fuller use be made of the new possibilities?

[Volskiy] I consider that the example of the oblast can be utilized very effectively in the development of territorial regional self-financing. I am convinced of that. All we have so far in our country regarding self-financing based on territories has been talk—no practical experience. This is the first time it has been possible to develop financial autonomy: to develop it according to the example of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast so that it can then be applied more widely, expanded and carried out in each republic and oblast and so on.

[Correspondent] No, the miracle did not occur. One did not succeed in convincing everyone at this meeting. Nonetheless, in comparison with the past, the discussions have become constructive, directed toward solving specific vital problems, of which there are now all too many: a backward economy; a neglected social sphere; an acute shortage of housing kindergartens and schools. Certain moral values of our socialist community have been distorted. Many of the party committees have not been able to deal a prompt rebuff to all kinds of nationalist elements. The special administration committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast called on all the Communists and all the workers of Nagorno-Karabakh to provide scope for the initiative of the active supporters of restructuring and ensure the accelerated socioeconomic development of the NKAO. (video shows meeting at factory, Volskiy speaking; street scenes and building sites; committee in session.)

Volskiy on Administration Tasks

LD2001205489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] A special type of administration has been introduced today in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, chairman of the

Committee for the Special Administration of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, talks about the tasks which labor collectives of the oblast are faced with solving in this connection:

[Begin recording] [Volskiy] In the sphere of economics, this means drawing on the assistance of union ministries and departments to develop more quickly the productive forces of the oblast, to carry out a fundamental reconstruction of enterprises, state farms and collective farms. It is planned to carry out measures to switch enterprises to working under conditions of self-financing and financial autonomy, to widely introduce lease contracting relations, family and collective contracting. Of course, it is necessary to give assistance to the oblast both by means of centralized capital investment and by credits, but in the future it will live by the profit it makes itself. Your income will depend on how you work. Perhaps for the first time here we have the possibility of working our genuine, clear-cut regional financial autonomy.

In the social sphere a sharp increase in the scale of housing construction, of the construction of hospitals and health care centers, educational institutions and cultural institutions lies ahead. In particular, we are planning to considerably increase the capacity of the No 9 construction trust, create our own construction industry base. In a short period of time we need to repair the roads, lay new ones especially in the country, put right electricity and gas supply systems. In tackling economic and social matters we will be turning to the center, essentially for assistance. For this purpose, in the USSR State Plan itself, a special paragraph is being introduced in the national economic plan for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Naturally, the traditional links with Azerbaijan will be preserved also, so far as power supply, transport and many types of cooperation and production are concerned. To destroy these today is suicide for the oblast. A boycott of that sort would be a blow not to Azerbaijan but to the population of Nagorno-Karabakh. Irresponsible chatterers, who understand nothing about economics, are the only people who call for such measures. Another matter: All links of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast with the outside world—with Azerbaijan, with Armenia, with Russia, the Ukraine and so on—must be put onto the firm basis of equitable, economic cooperation. The firm basis of such relations is not mutual love and reciprocal service, nor administrative pressure, but rather having an interest in cooperation. [end recording]

Committee Member Interviewed

LD2001150889 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 19 January carries a 6-minute program on the role of the special administration committee formed to work in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The program opens with an unidentified presenter saying: "The decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the temporary introduction of a special form of administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, in the Azerbaijan SSR, goes into force tomorrow, when a special administration committee begins work. Listen to an interview granted by Valeriy Anatoliyevich Sidorov, a member of the committee, to our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko."

Omelchenko opens the interview by saying: "Valeriy Anatoliyevich, the special form of administration is unusual for all of us. In practical terms, it is an experiment, a bold experiment, which is being conducted by the party and state." After noting that the latter offers great opportunities in all spheres to people of energy and initiative throughout the oblast, he asks Sidorov about the first tasks the special administration committee is setting itself. In reply, Sidorov says that tasks ahead are naturally connected with leadership, work, and promoting restructuring. Sidorov continues: "At the moment the picture is a very difficult one. Having become embroiled in politics and endless meetings, labor collectives, and first and foremost leaders of enterprises, have let slip concern about the future; they have gone into this year without resources, without orders, without plans, without contracts, and without a work front." Omelchenko continues: "And even at the first aktiv which took place here in Stepanakert, Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy named as an immediate task the fastest possible placing of orders with the USSR's Gossnab.

Sidorov responds: "Yes, it's the resolution of these matters and the creation of conditions for making progress in the oblast—all the things by which the whole country is living: self-financing, self-management, leasing, cooperatives, contracting. You know, when you come here to Stepanakert from Moscow for the first time, you find yourself as though thrown back by 3 or 4 years from the way the country is living, from what agitates and worries us, from what we are struggling for and what we are tackling. Here, all these issues have been somehow pushed into the background and forced to the back by nationality issues. Therefore, the introduction of the special administration committee was not only a bold step: It was, even so, a forced measure, because what we had here could not be maintained further. The oblast was running into a dead end; it was heading for a precipice.

"Events which led to simply tragic events, to 250,000 refugees, had unfolded around Nagorno-Karabakh. It was impossible to maintain the situation further. It was the only step which enabled us to stop a further escalation of the violence. I am deeply convinced that the national movement here in Karabakh flared up on such a scale because, among other things, the population had lost confidence in Baku, had lost confidence in the ability of the previous leadership of Azerbaijan to solve their problems. And when the new leadership came in, there turned out to be no confidence (?in them) either, unfortunately. Subsequently, interethnic clashes followed, which further aggravated the differences between Karabakh and Azerbaijan. Now, if not to brick up this crack altogther, we have at least to reduce it to a minimum and, in future, of course, to eliminate it.

So the committee's task today is to establish order here, with the help of labor collectives and Communists, of all the healthy element which exists in every people, to establish order on Karabakh soil. Today we have a picture where very many subunits of both local soviet and, talking honestly, party bodies are not working at all; they are not fulfilling their obligations. You need only to look at the situation in, say, housing construction, health care and medicine; you need only to call into the shops and take a look at how our trade and supply organizations are working to become convinced that they are not functioning, just not functioning. Therefore, the committee needs not to [word indistinct], but to bring people to their senses, to employ new strong and energetic comrades in there, where necessary, and to induce—and in a number of cases, to force—people to work as restructuring demands."

Omelchenko then asks: "Valeriy Anatoliyevich, I have already had occasion to come up against the most varied interpretations of the decree. Mistaken opinions exist mainly because people have simply either not read or not understood fully. There are doubts as to the future of this form of administration, and how the oblast will develop."

Concluding the program, Sidorov responds: "You know, I think that this is a characteristic of the general political climate in the oblast. It's not only linked with the decree. There are certain doubts here in what leaders say. One side analyzes it one way and the other other side analyzes it another, although as a whole, in the overwhelming majority of cases the attitude to the degree is very good. We are speaking now at enterprises, explaining its contents. We are meeting a very good attitude and understanding from people, and they express support for us and a readiness to cooperate. That's the main thing, I think. One should not look in the decree and the text of the decision of the Council of Ministers and other documents for any meaning other than that which is set out in the text itself. It sets out fully, openly, and honestly, the position of the party and the government on solving this complicated, lingering question. I want to stress that the decree and the adopted decision are in the interests of both the Armenian population and the Azerbaijani population. We set ourselves the task of promoting, say, cultural development and the cultural ties of the Armenian part of the population with Armenia; but, in exactly the same way, the Azerbaijani parts will preserve, augment and develop all their ties with Azerbaijan. It would be absurd to suppose that relations could be constructed any differently."

Restructuring in NKAO Viewed

LD2201195889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] The next item is from Stepanakert, where our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko is. In accordance with the tasks of the special form of administration introduced in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], the work of the law and order bodies is being restructured. Here is Sergey Omelchenko:

[Omelchenko] Here in Stepanakert, the Directorate of Internal Affairs of the autonomous oblast has not noted illegal acts arising from relations between the nationalities in its duty logs for several months now. And even ordinary crimes have noteably decreased since the introduction of the special situation. Of course these were forced measures and it cannot exist permanently. This is one of the reasons why the workers in internal affairs of the autonomous oblast are now seriously occupied with the question of restructuring their work. Furthermore, the situation itself sets new tasks and heightened demands. Here is Robert Sergeyevich Tumanyan, head of the Administration of Internal Affairs of the NKAO. Robert Sergeyevich, how do you evaluate the introduction of the special form of administration?

[Tumanyan] The decision that has been made is an unusual one. There are no parallels in the history of our state. It was a forced measure. Throughout the whole year the discord between nationalities in our oblast and also in Azerbaijan as a whole and in Armenia continued to worsen, and in the last months of the year took on the nature of open clashes. More than 300,000 people from Armenia and Azerbaijan were forced to leave their homes, inhabited places, and cultivated lands. In the NKAO alone there are now more than 12,000 refugees [figure as heard—Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the Commission for the Special Administration of NKAO, said on television on 15 January that more than 200,000 people had left their homes]. Injustice and cruelty burst out from under the guard of reason and took root in the masses.

[Omelchenko] And of course in a situation like this things are not easy for the staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. So what is being done to make sure that first, the mistakes of last year are not repeated, and then to make sure that work is done in a new way, efficiently, ensuring the security and rights of citizens?

[Tumanyan] The workers of the oblast Ministry of Internal Affairs made quite a few miscalculations and mistakes last year, and sometimes there was evidence simply of helplessness in critical situations. We have heard many just reprimands and rebukes from both citizens and leadership, and one feels bitter and humiliated over workers who were found wanting, who showed themselves in a poor light, and who did not justify the confidence of the people. For out of (?74) cases of pogroms and arson of houses, apartments, and cars, and other crimes against the person which took place in the period September 18-20...

[Omelchenko interrupting] In just 3 days?

[Tumanyan] Yes, in 3 days, in 1988, not one of them was cleared up. For that reason the perplexity of simple people is reasonable. Where were the police? Can they be counted on? Those are the difficult questions that we have to give a speedy answer to today. We are obliged to guarantee the safety, rights, honor, and dignity of citizens. Active work is now underway to improve the quality of staff at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. We intend to carry out an unscheduled check of competence. We cannot have an Armenian, an Azerbaijani, and a Russian police force. We have a single police force, a Soviet one. We need workers devoted to the cause, who are always ready to come to the help of people regardless of their nationality.

TRUD Says NKAO 'Stabilized'

LD2101111789 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has largely stabilised, the Soviet newspaper TRUD said today.

Major General A. Kololmiytsev, who is commandant of the special area, told the newspaper that "there are no more strikes and rallies, nor is there any disorder".

"The population, on the whole, meets with understanding requirements by the military commandant's office, but I can't say the area is marked by complete calm," he said.

"We continue to expose people who illegally keep weapons and explosives, and sometimes one can hear calls for strikes," the major general went on.

"Those who left the area in haste and now want to take things they left here, furniture and so on, cannot do without assistance of troops, either."

Kolomiytsev said more than 50 people were arrested for malicious violations in Stepanakert, administrative centre of Nagorno-Karabakh, alone during the aggravation of ethnic clashes. More than half of the cases were referred to the court.

Two hundred families in the same city had to leave their flats or houses, and there were casualties, the commandant continued.

"We cannot allow anything of the kind to recur. This why the special status regime will continue.

"However, as the situation in one or another area stabilises, we reduce the number of patrolling troops. We have also allowed entertainments at cultural institutions in the daytime," Kolomiytsev said.

The newspaper said Nagorno-Karabakh, as the rest of the country, is holding a nomination campaign. About 20 people have already been nominated for seven mandates of people's deputies of the USSR.

Decree Received 'Positively' in Armenia

PM2001093989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Fair Compromise"]

[Text] As ARMENPRESS correspondents report from Yerevan, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on introducing a special form of administration for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has been greeted positively by most Armenian workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia. In conversations with journalists, as a rule, the opinion is being expressed that at the present stage this is the correct compromise decision which will make it possible to significantly calm passions, assist in stabilizing the situation in the region, and halt the flow of refugees.

Man is powerless in the face of the elements. But there are losses which people bring upon themselves: loss of life as a result of interethnic strife and the depriving of many families of their home, work, and a normal situation, pensioner L. Samaryan says. I am sure that the transfer of the NKAO's ties to a firm basis of equal economic and cultural cooperation with all republics—and the USSR Supreme Soviet decree on introducing a special form of administration opens up precisely such prospects—will assist in resolving fundamental questions which are important to us all, for people realize that the clashes, mutual recriminations, strikes, and mass disturbances which took place in Nagorno-Karabakh are a blow primarily to restructuring. The country's peoples are participating both in eliminating the horrors of the earthquake and in resolving questions of interethnic relations. We must be together.

The hope that the conflict around the NKAO would sooner or later be resolved is becoming a reality, S. Arutyunyan, director of the Republican Center for Aesthetic Development and Scientific, Technical, and Economic Ties under the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, believes. The special form of administration, in his view, will make it possible to normalize the situation in the region and to prevent new conflicts between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. It is also time, he says, to finally resolve the socioeconomic problems which have accumulated in the NKAO and not simply to limit oneself to noting them.

Zh. Akopyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Cultural Fund, assesses the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree as a step toward stabilizing the situation. In his words, the decision is dictated by the need to arrive at a compromise which satisfies both sides equally.

M. Suvaryan, deputy general director of the "Zvartnots" agricultural combine, says: Our collective believes in the moral forces capable of reviving the former traditions of good-neighborliness. It is time to get down to work. We hope that the experience of Echmiadzinskiy Rayon, which fulfilled its pledges for deliveries of agricultural output, can also be of use in resolving the problems of the NKAO's agricultural complex. We are ready to assist our neighbors in mastering new ways to organize work.

Armenia Central Committee Holds 13th Plenum

NC2001155689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, 18 January, ARMENPRES—The 13th Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held on 17 January 1989. Heads of departments of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms who are not members of the Central Committee or the auditing commission of the Armenian Communist Party were invited to attend.

The plenum examined the question of reorganizing the structure of the apparatus of the republic's party committees, the tasks for perfecting party leadership, and related issues.

A report on this question was delivered by S. G. Arutyunyan.

The new structure of the apparatus of the republic's party committees has been worked out, with consideration given to the constructive proposals received from various localities. The number of responsible workers of the Central Committee is being reduced by 30 percent, and there will be 8 departments instead of 17. These departments will deal with party organizational and cadre work, ideological, socioeconomic, agrarian, state, legal, and general matters, and administration of affairs. Until the establishment of the control and auditing commission, the party control commission attached to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee is being retained.

It was deemed expedient to form six commissions of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee on questions relating to party organizational and cadre work, on ideological issues, on socioeconomic development questions, on agrarian policy, on state legal affairs policy, and on questions relating to interethnic relations. The plenum approved the personnel composition of the commissions of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum examined organizational questions.

The plenum relieved Yu. Kochetkov of his duties as second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committe Bureau in connection with his transfer to the services of the CPSU Central Committee; K.A. Gambaryan of his duties as secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in view of his retirement; F.T. Sarkisyan of his duties as member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in view of his retirement; and M.A. Yuzbashyan of his duties as candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in view of his transfer to other work.

By secret ballot the plenum elected O.I. Lobov as member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, second secretary, and member of the bureau.

By secret ballot the plenum elected M.A. Serobyan as member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, secretary, and member of the bureau.

The plenum elected V.S. Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

By secret ballot the plenum elected V.G. Badamyants as chairman of the KGB of the Armenian SSR, member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum confirmed the following as heads of department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee: party organizational and cadre work, R.Y. Akopyan; ideological work, G.E. Asatryan; socioeconomic department, G.G. Arutyunyan; agrarian department, M.S. Grigoryan; and general department, L. Kh. Chakhmakhchyan. L.G. Yolchyan has been confirmed as head of administrative affairs of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

With this, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum concluded its work.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of defense of the USSR, took part in the plenum.

Armenian Party-Economic Aktiv Discusses Tasks

PM1901153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "We Are Strong When We Are Together. Meeting of Armenian SSR Party-Economic Aktiv"]

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Jan—A meeting of the Armenian party-economic aktiv was held here today to discuss the tasks of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on steps to deal with the aftermath of the earthquake.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and head of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission; commission members N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee took part in the meeting's work.

Before the session began the meeting participants stood to honor the memory of all those who died as a result of the disaster.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report. It is hard to tell, he said, what position the republic would be in now had the constructive potential of the Soviet people's unity, cohesion, and fraternity not been fully manifested following that fateful day—7 December. The CPSU Central Committee Address "To the Party and to the Soviet People" says expansively and convincingly: "The entire country, every republic, and every Soviet family has experienced Armenia's grief as its own." The effective internationalism of Soviet people was a crucial factor in countering the disaster.

M.S. Gorbachev's address to the Armenian people on the day the disaster struck was of tremendous significance in the extremely complex situation that had developed with regard to mobilizing forces and resources and molding the spiritual atmosphere and public opinion both in the republic and the country and also throughout the world. The fact that M.S. Gorbachev cut short his trip abroad, came to the disaster area, and held numerous meetings and conversations with the population, and the fact that he took major on-the-spot decisions and practical steps to offer the republic urgent comprehensive aid had a great political and moral-psychologica effect, filled the people with optimism, and inspired confidence in the speediest elimination of the consequences of the disaster.

The activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission was an exceptionally important mobilizing factor. Its work is an instructive example to all of us leading cadres in the republic.

The promptness and scope of the measures adopted by the commission, the creation of an effective management mechanism, the purposeful concentration of all the requisite resources and forces from the country's single economic complex, and—this was absolutely essential—the implementation of all the work in an atmosphere of broad glasnost made it possible to mount large-scale rescue and restoration work and to organize the population's life in the disaster zone.

Sharing the nationwide grief for those who met an untimely end and expressing once again profound sympathy and compassion for their friends and relatives, we address words of cordial gratitude to all people in our country and abroad, to everyone who contributed and is contributing to overcoming the consequences of the terrible disaster, the speaker continued.

From the very first minutes Armenia's Communists took charge of the work of the republic's working people to find a way out of the tragic situation and set an example of selfless action in the most difficult and crucial spheres.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo deemed it necessary to speed up development of the second phase of the work, the main aim of which is to reconstruct the socioeconomic potential of the entire stricken region within the next 2 years. In this connection the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a number of resolutions of crucial importance for our republic, where the work of dealing with the aftermath of the earthquake has assumed an all-embracing, consistent character.

The great aid from the CPSU Central Committee, the government, fraternal union republics, CPSU ministries and departments, and labor collectives, who are offering us invaluable support during this extremely difficult time, by no means lifts responsibility from the republic but, on the contrary, compels us to work with redoubled vigor. The union republics, ministries, departments, and labor collectives involved in eliminating the consequences of the natural disaster are completing the elaboration of specific programs for restoring the stricken regions to normal life. The cities of Leninakan, Spitak, Stepanavan, Alaverdi, Artik, Dilizhan, the settlement of Maralik, and the rayon centers of Amasiya, Akhuryan, Gukasyan, and Gugark will be restored through the efforts of fraternal union republics and labor collectives from Moscow and Leningrad. An overall complex of 4 million square meters of housing with all sociocultural and municipal domestic facilities will be constructed.

Talking about urban development policy, the speaker pointed out that the considerable work that lies ahead and the great concentration of efforts and funds require the creation of a profoundly well thought-out system, substantial engineering and exploration work, and scientific calculations designed to guarantee the seismic stability and safety of future structures. Construction must be carried out in such a way as to ensure that it corresponds strictly to the most up-to-date requirements.

Substantial amendments are being made in industry and throughout the republic's economy today in connection with the upcoming shutdown of the Armenian AES. The resolution of the question of the AES' further functioning in a seismically dangerous zone is a convincing example of the manifestation of the USSR leadership's supreme humanity and exclusive concern for the fate of our people, S.G. Arutyunyan said. However, this gives us a great responsibility for ensuring balance in electricity generation and consumption.

The speaker then described the scale of the restoration work in the agro-industrial complex. Tremendous efforts will be have to be made here to carry out the approaching spring field campaign successfully.

The disaster befell the republic at a time when the situation that had taken shape in connection with the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh was acute. Many months of crisis over this problem, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary said, had led both republics to a deadlock. The two neighboring peoples found themselves in an extremely dangerous position. It was hard to find a way out of the difficult and extremely acute situation. On the one hand there was a clash of sentiments and aspirations among the broad mass of the people, who rightly expected painful social problems to be solved, and on the other there was adventurist activity on the part of the "Karabakh" leaders, who exploited the mechanism of democracy and the real difficulties in order to whip up passions and manipulate public opinion. On the pretext of demanding a solution to the Karabakh question, they began an overt struggle for power. They did not stop at inciting people to riot, spreading malicious rumors, exerting pressure on representatives of the authorities, and issuing ultimatums.

As you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the question of the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh on 12 January. With the adoption of measures at union level the two republics' responsibility for normalizing interethnic relations, improving the political and ideological atmosphere around Nagorno-Karabakh, and reviving the traditional good-neighborliness between the two peoples is increasing all the time.

Some hard work lies ahead. This is because to date we have been unable to overcome the psychological barrier between sound, sober-minded forces and individual, misguided strata of the population, which include, much to our regret, some of our intelligentsia.

Following the objective expose of the activity of the "Karabakh" committee political adventurers, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee received numerous letters and cables supporting our principled stance. At the same time there are people among the creative and scientific intelligentsia who are trying to whitewash the self-styled "leaders" who are inciting people to illegal actions, kindling interethnic dissension, and trying to drive the republic into anarchy and chaos. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee stance on these questions is unequivocal and principled. The Central Committee Bureau recently gave an exacting assessment of the unprincipled behavior of individual leaders in the republic's party, soviet, economic, and law-enforcement organs who have tolerated and in some places even helped to kindle interethnic dissension.

Concrete steps to improve the ideological and moral climate in Armenia and the speediest resolution of socioeconomic and spiritual questions, the speaker said in conclusion, are a reliable guarantee that the republic's Communists and all its working people will rally together for the common end and mobilize all their efforts to deal with the aftermath of the earthquake.

Then the debate began.

The first phase of the rescue and restoration work is over, M.L. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of Leninakan party gorkom, said. The party organization has succeeded in controlling the situation and averting panic. While talking about the immediate tasks, the speaker devoted particular attention to the restoration of the city's economic potential, which is also of great political and moral-psychological significance. However, the problem of industrial construction and the restoration of the production units that remained intact is still unresolved due to the lack of a general plan for the city and a definitive assessment of the seismic stability of the areas allocated for construction work. The restoration and reinforcement of the damaged housing and public buildings is also an important question. Work in this area has already begun. In the speaker's opinion, preference should be given first to school construction.

More than 100 construction detachments from every corner of our country have arrived in Armenia in order to restore the social and production potential of the rural regions affected by the earthquake, V.M. Movsisyan, chairman of the republic state agro-industrial committee, pointed out. It would have been impossible to make up for the damage done to agriculture without this generous assistance. A particularly complex situation has taken shape in stockraising. Under conditions where more than one-third of the meat and one-half of the dairy products consumed in the republic come from state resources, there has been a substantial reduction in the numbers of livestock. The measures outlined to reconstruct the sector provide for the import of 22,000 breeder livestock into the republic, the technical renewal of livestock units, and the extensive introduction of the lease contract.

The success of the restoration work, N.A. Grigoryan, first secretary of Kirovakan party gorkom, said, will in many respects depend on how far the party organizations succeed in boosting every Communist's responsibility for reviving his home town. With this in view it is planned to attach Communists from the construction organizations arriving in our republic to primary party organizations and establish close contacts with them. Naturally this will generate new forms of party work. The first steps have been taken. A supplement to the city's KAYTS ("SPARK") has been published in Russian at the decision of the gorkom bureau. The editorial office plans to propagandize vivid examples of our fraternity and tales of the working life of the Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and representatives of all the peoples who have come to our aid.

All Armenia's construction workers must carry out a tremendous amount of construction and installation work in the earthquake zone, V.B. Artsruni, chairman of the republic gosstroy, said. More than 50 industrial enterprises need to be reconstructed. The elaboration of all general plans for cities, rayon centers, and villages in the earthquake zone will be completed this year. Approximately 5 million square meters of housing need to be constructed overall: This program is impossible through the efforts of the republic alone, without help from the entire country. The third day after the earthquake a state interdepartmental urban development commission began work and set about investigating all population centers in the disaster zone, amending their general plans, adjusting their engineering equipment systems and projects for the detailed planning and development of new construction areas, and compiling seismic zoning maps. More than 30 union design organizations have taken part in these studies.

We have to do everything over, N.G. Muradyan, first secretary of Spitakskiy party raykom, said in his speech, and create labor collectives and party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations. Even a small victory is a delight now. Most collectives have set to work, and construction detachments are being formed in the villages from the local population. But many republic ministries and departments need to ponder the future of the region now. At present even the resolution of such urgent questions as the allocation of lots of land for construction organizations, bases, and auxiliary services is being prolonged for an unpardonably long period of time. Design and prospecting work has not been completed for a single population center.

The speaker expressed gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the country's government for the prompt steps they have taken with a view to reviving the region. The resolution of questions of the administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the shutdown of the Armenian AES is helping to improve the moral and ethical atmosphere in the republic, he stated.

V.G. Klyuyev, USSR minister of light industry, stressed that constructing new enterprises to replace those destroyed and fitting them out with state-of-the-art equipment is the most important phase of the restoration work. Not only must the sector's economic potential be fully restored, it must be exceeded. It is planned to make extensive use of low modular designs and light metallic structures during design, reconstruction, and new construction. The successful fulfillment of the plans depends in many respects on how precisely and rapidly the work to restore workplaces, organize people, and create proper housing and domestic conditions is developed. For there are now 15,500 sectoral workers in the disaster zone who need to be found jobs.

Armenian SSR Trade Minister R.A. Sukhudyan described as truly invaluable the aid from the USSR Government and the union Ministry of Trade in promptly resolving one acute living problem in the stricken regions—the problem of the population's food supply. This aid made it possible to organize timely, free distribution of foodstuffs and hot meals in Leninakan at a cost of more than R12 million.

Trade workers' attention, the minister announced, is concentrated on poviding the population and construction workers with a regular supply of the requisite food and industrial goods. The creation of new department stores, a number of major specialized nonfood stores, and a developed network of varied public catering enterprises is envisaged.

A.D. Gomtsyan, first secretary of the Gukasyanskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom, talked about the organization of aid to the republic's rural inhabitants. The restoration of villages should be a priority in the work being mounted, otherwise population migration to the cities could assume menacing proportions. However, there is as yet no sign of a responsible approach to this problem on the part of the Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, the Armenian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and a number of other ministries and departments. In the current situation can we really permit the kind of work style selected, for instance, by the republic's ministry of public education? No representative of this ministry has visited the regions in all this time. Envoys from the UKrainian SSR Agrostroy who have come to our republic display a different approach to the matter. On learning about the real situation on the spot and about the scale of the devastation, they agreed not only to double their plans but also to speed up implementation of the housing program they had mapped out.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was given the floor.

For almost 6 weeks now, he said, Soviet people's eyes have been fastened on Armenia, and an unending flood of aid and compassion has been arriving. As you know, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo special commission has been operating all this time. Yesterday we visited Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan again after a break of 3 weeks. We recalled our arrival there on that dreadful morning of 8 December and our subsequent trips around the cities and villages afflicted by the earthquake, and we cannot help making comparisons with what we saw yesterday. Of course, there has been very perceptible and visible progress. The last pieces of rubble are being removed, sites are being cleared for new construction, people's lives are being organized, and production life is gradually being set aright. The mood in the disaster zone is changing for the better. People have taken heart.

Yesterday we heard a great many sincere and grateful words to the emissaries of the fraternal republics, ministries, departments, and the servicemen now working in these areas. This aid was of tremendous importance in the early days. On some occasions it was gauged directly by the human lives that were saved. But it is equally important now. It is not only thousands of tonnes of freight, powerful equipment, and money and materials that are arriving here in fraternal aid. The volunteers are breathing life itself, collectivism, and labor morale into the place. They are helping the victims to set themselves aright both physically and spiritually. Our multiethnic country is sharing not only its material resources and values with Armenia—resources which, to be blunt, our country has in excess nowhere—but also its spiritual warmth and tenacity.

Grief has shown once again that we are strong when we are together and that any problem, notably chronic ones, can be solved, and any trouble and difficulty overcome only through internationalism and restructuring. This idea was also stressed in the CPSU Central Committee address to the party and the Soviet people adopted at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which was published recently.

You know, N.I.Ryzhkov continued, what great tasks the Central Committee and government have set with regard to dealing with the aftermath of the earthquake and what constant attention Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is devoting to these questions.

The Central Committee Politburo laid special emphasis, during an examination of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission report on this question on 28 December, on the need to speed up work to restore the socioeconomic potential of the afflicted regions. The implementation of the appropriate party Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions will play a key role here.

N.I. Ryzhkov described the large-scale comprehensive program for restoration and construction work. In order to implement it within 2 years, 140,000 construction workers will be needed. The resolutions adopted by the party and the government are not just of tremendous social and national economic importance, but also of political importance, because they concern the rebirth of a major region of the republic where a fourth of its population lives. It is a question of vital importance for the whole of Armenia. This is why it has become an all-union concern. Specific tasks have been set for each union republic and for central ministries and departments.

However, regardless of how substantial the assistance, its effective and timely utilization will depend on the efforts of Armenia itself and its actual contribution to dealing with the aftermath of the earthquake. Communists, the republic's entire party and economic aktiv, and all the working people must thoroughly grasp this.

The speaker dwelt on the problems of the restoration of the social sphere, which is a priority sphere in the entire range of work to be carried out. It is necessary, as swiftly as possible, to create acceptable living conditions for the earthquake victims and for all those who have come to their assistance. The USSR Gossnab has allocated 5,000 mobile homes and around 1,000 wooden houses to the republic. Measures are currently being taken to mobilize additional resources.

Supplies of meat, sausage, and dairy products to stricken areas have been assured. However, not everyone is able to cook meals. It is necessary to open more canteens and to adapt large tents for use as canteens. This has been done in some places, but not everywhere. It is most annoying when, despite the material conditions being created and food products, tents, and warm clothing being available at depots, people are suffering because of the disorganization and sluggishness of local authorities.

We must not let our attention to these matters lapse for a minute. We must resolutely take the children stunned by the terrible disaster under our wing. It is not just a matter of ensuring that the children are clothed, shod, and fed—that goes without saying. They must be given schooling. Leninakan is setting a good example. Yesterday we witnessed the beginning of lessons in heated tents. This is making it possible for children not to waste the academic year. The construction of schools must take precedence over the construction of housing. A functioning school is also a factor of major psychological importance, a sign of normal life. We must not forget this.

It is necessary not just to revive the cities and villages destroyed by the disaster. Essentially, it is necessary also to revive the destinies of many thousands of people. It is easier to provide heating for people than to warm their hearts. To stop people from cutting themselves off in their grief, from falling into apathy, is today one of the most humane tasks facing the whole Armenian people. Only work, collective work, will help people to overcome what has befallen them, to gain faith in themselves and in the future. We must ensure that under no circumstances do collectives forget about the families of comrades who have perished. We simply have no right to forget them.

In light industry the collectives of 23 enterprises have resumed operations. Of 32 stricken agro-industrial sector processing enterprises, 26 have been restored. Many collectives of consumer service, trade, and other sector enterprises have started working again. The central figure in a collective is its leader. Through his personal example he can strengthen people's morale and unite them. At present leaders are having to pass a test not just of their business and professional abilities but also of their human and genuine party qualities.

Hospitals are functioning in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and 18 rayon centers, and out-patient treatment centers are operating in adapted premises, polyclinics, and medical stations. However, these are temporary measures. The program of work for 1989-1990 makes provision for the restoration of 3,400 hospital beds and of polyclinics capable of providing 4,500 consultations per shift. The attention of union and republic organs to the development of health care facilities must be constant and unremitting.

When speaking about the construction program, N.I. Ryzhkov placed special emphasis on the quality of construction work. We know Armenia as a republic with good traditions in the construction industry and Armenians as skillful, creative builders, he said. Just look at the splendid architecture of Yerevan's central streets. What is the explanation for the glaring irresponsibility and shoddiness which strike you when you inspect many of the residences and other installations in the earthquake zone? If they had been built conscientiously, the consequences of the earthquake would have been different. Yet these shortcomings had been pointed out to Armenian builders more than once by state construction inspection organs.

As is known, a commission has been set up by the government to assess the quality of design and construction of mass-series residential blocks in the disaster area. It will submit its conclusion to the USSR Council of Ministers. On the basis of this, proposals for improving design and construction practices in areas with high seismic activity are to be elaborated, and construction regulations and rules are to be tightened up. The degree of responsibility of construction participants for perpetrating violations is to be defined. When adopting decisions relating to construction, be it a residential block, a public building, or an industrial installation, prime importance must be attached to reliability and people's guaranteed safety. This is the main criterion.

Six restored enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and 10 enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Electronics Industry have resumed production. The USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building is tackling the question of the restoration of its enterprises in a thoroughgoing fashion. At the same time, many ministries are noting with good reason that restoration and new construction work is being held up in the absence of decisions on the allocation of plots. The Armenian Council of Ministers and USSR Gosstroy must take this into account.

The speaker raised the task of radically restructuring the work of the republic's transport complex so as to ensure that it outstrips the rate of construction and provision of social and everyday services, and to establish order in the processing of freight.

Specialists from many of the country's oblasts have been dispatched to all stricken kolkhozes and sovkhozes to provide assistance in the wintering of livestock and preparations for spring field work. Aid has been supplied in the form of seed and equipment. But it is not just the earthquake which has hit the countryside. In 105 villages with an Azeri population, there were 72,000 head of cattle and 218,000 sheep in the public sector alone. Now the Azeris have mostly gone. A complex situation is taking shape in the livestock sector as a result of cadre shortages. Party and soviet organs must engage in painstaking explanatory work to persuade people to stay in the villages, to induce those who have left to return, and to guarantee people's safety. A phenomenon such as the artificially triggered population migration from Armenia to Azerbaijan and from Azerbaijan to Armenia, which is impermissible in our society, is perhaps the most convincing confirmation of a simple truth—namely, that interethnic friction is most often inspired and fed by people who have nothing to do with the working man but that, as a rule, it is precisely the ordinary people, the rank-and-file workers who have to pay for it with their welfare, their homes and hearths, their health, and sometimes even their lives.

Today the efforts of party committees and all Communists must be geared toward uniting the working people on the positions of internationalism and actual implementation of the CPSU Central Committee, Soviet Government, and Armenian Communist Party Central Committee decisions aimed at stabilizing the situation in the republic and improving interethnic relations.

A significant role in this belongs to the intelligentsia, the spiritual mentor of its people. From time immemorial, a genuine member of the intelligentsia, including in Armenia, was a Citizen with a capital C, who shared the pain of the fatherland as a whole, who felt compassion for the people, and who was distinguished by the breadth and depth of his thought. In this respect the extreme conditions in which the Armenian and the Azerbaijani peoples find themselves make great demands also on their intelligentsia. Unfortunately certain people, even people who engage in professionally creative work, have been found wanting during the days of difficult trials in terms of the breadth of their thought and compassion even for their own people, not to mention the neighboring people.

How is one to distinguish between what is genuine and what is false in this explosion of national consciousness which we are currently witnessing? I believe that it is easy to distinguish by using a single criterion. We have to decide where actions are dictated by sincere concern for the fate of society, socialism, and restructuring, and where they have been taken only to satisfy personal ambitions which cause suffering to other people. We are talking a great deal about the pioneers of restructuring, about its champions. Such champions do exist in Armenia too. However, it is just as important also to mention—loud and clear—the poachers of restructuring, those who use the revolutionary political moment purely in the interest of their own ambitions.

It must frankly be admitted that what has happened in Armenia and in Azerbaijan has distorted the image and reputation of these two peoples, which have evolved over the centuries, in the eyes of millions. Many people are asking themselves the agonizing question: What happened to make people in this land, who are known for their generosity and open-heartedness, forget, in the heat of mutual recriminations, the old maxim: "You cannot build your happiness on other people's grief."

I believe this question concerns not least of all the intelligentsia.

Today positive changes are emerging in the intelligentsia's frame of mind. Perhaps it is the terrible grief which has put spiritual values and priorities in their proper place. Perhaps the wave of human compassion and sympathy which has been extended to the republic from all parts of the country, or the progress of restructuring itself, has contributed to this insight, which was so long in coming. The main thing is to ensure that the normalization processes do not grind to a halt, that they do not backtrack. The Armenian intelligentsia is fully capable of appreciating the entire depth of its responsibility for the welfare and spiritual health of its people, and the humaneness and standard of human relations in whose molding it has a substantial role to play.

Responsibility and prudence are also necessary today in connection with the major decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh. The Committee for the Special Administration of the NKAO, which has been set up and which will be subordinated directly to the supreme organs of state power and administration of the USSR, has the task of normalizing the situation in the autonomous oblast and ensuring order, citizens' safety, the uninterrupted functioning of all enterprises and organizations, and the restoration of trade, municipal, and medical services. Its main aim is to achieve a consolidation of social forces on an internationalist basis.

The decision which has been adopted represents substantial assistance from the center to the two union republics. The union organs are taking on a considerable burden of the work to normalize the situation in the NKAO and to ensure its socioeconomic development. It is a compromise under which a mutually acceptable balance of interests among the two union republics is observed. It is an embodiment of the well-considered, principled course of the party in the sphere of nationalities policy.

However, the adoption of measures relating to central organs by no means removes the full share of responsibility from the Central Committees of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Parties. They must channel the efforts of party organizations and all Communists toward radically changing the situation; ensuring a normalization of social life in the republics, the consistent implementation of restructuring, and collaboration in the solution of questions that arise; and putting up a united resistance to antirestructuring forces and any actions which might lead to interethnic friction.

Tremendous damage was inflicted on the cause of interethnic relations by those who speculated on people's social discontent, built up during the period of stagnation, on their displeasure with the violation of the principles of social justice, and on the serious deformations in cadre policy. Skillfully exploiting people's national sentiments and the prestige—and in some cases the talent—of certain representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and with the connivance and sometimes even the unconcealed protection of the authorities, the political adventurists pitted themselves against the general democratic processes and healthy social forces in the republic and sank to narrowly nationalist and antirestructuring positions.

The activists of the "Karabakh" committee played a deadly role in kindling interethnic strife, organizing unrest, expelling thousands of completely innocent citizens from their homes, and whipping up sociopolitical tension in the republic. The speculative nature of the committee was clearly revealed during the days of nationwide grief when, afraid that the wave of nationwide misfortune and internationalism might push them into the background, these sorry champions of national interests set about issuing threatening ultimatums, saber-rattling, rubbing salt into ethnic wounds, and spreading false rumors—in short, doing everything to draw attention to themselves so they could stay afloat.

The decision made on Nagorno-Karabakh essentially removes the basis for interethnic friction. However, it would be wrong to hope that normalization will come about automatically, exclusively from the top. Thoughtful, consistent work from both sides and at all levels is necessary here. Neither party committees, nor the Komsomol, nor the trade unions can tolerate passiveness; it is impermissible to watch from the sidelines, and it is necessary to approach people, to lead them toward the solution of vital problems and toward overcoming the consequences of the devastating earthquake with the help of the whole country.

The decision made on Nagorno-Karabakh does not signify anyone's victory, or anyone's defeat. It was dictated by a single concern: to reduce tension in the region, restore order, and enable people to live and work normally and raise their children. This is also the yardstick that should be applied to the decision in political work.

In 1988, N.I. Ryzhkov went on, Armenia's economy developed more slowly than that of most other union republics or the average for the country as a whole. The reasons for this are well known. This was above all due to the strikes. Mass failure to report for work also seriously affected the solution of social problems. During the first 11 months of 1988 (the period preceding the earthquake), the annual program for commissioning housing was fulfilled by only 58 percent. The annual target for commissioning clubs, cultural centers, and polyclinics was met by only 25 percent. It is impossible to keep living like this. What question can there of improving people's living standards? Armenia's intellectual, labor, and production potential makes it quite possible for the republic to overcome the lag. This would be received with great understanding and respect throughout the country and would enhance the prestige of the party organization and the whole of Armenia in the family of fraternal peoples.

I would like to take this opportunity, N.I. Ryzhkov said, to cordially thank the republics, central ministries and departments, Soviet Army servicemen, and all comrades who are currently helping fraternal Armenia on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the government. I would like to thank them and at the same time to appeal to the working people and labor collectives: In order to rebuild what has been destroyed and to restore the rhythm of life within 2 years, assistance to fraternal Armenia must not be allowed to subside in the future.

Intensive, harmonious work to heal Armenia's wounds, drawing sober and if necessary grim lessons from what has happened, helping to stabilize the life and work of the people's masses in this vast region, and overcoming the serious disruptions in the economy and the spiritual, social, and political spheres—this must now be the main contribution of each individual to restructuring, to positive changes throughout the country, to enhancing the well-being and prosperity of all our peoples who, even if not directly, feel the consequences of the earthquake, no matter how far from Armenia they live. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the government, N.I. Ryzhkov said in conclusion, hope that Armenia's Communists and its hard-working people will prove equal to their tasks in this hour of our common trial and responsibility.

On the same day a regular working conference of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission was held. Late that night a conversation between members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission and republic leaders took place at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Biography of New Armenian Premier Detailed

NC1901155089 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, 18 January, ARMENPRES—The republican press has published the decree of the presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet concerning the appointment of Valdimir Surenovich Markaryants as chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

The following is from Markaryants' biography, which has been published, along with his picture, in the republican papers:

Vladimir Markaryants was born in 1934 in the city of Yeysk in Krasnodar Kray and is of Armenian extraction. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1958. He received higher education and graduated from the Agro-Industrial Institute of Stavropol and the Advanced Higher Party School attached to the CPSU Central Committee.

Between 1949 and 1967, V. Markaryants worked as a turner at the car repair factory in Georgiyevsk and then as a turner at the V. I. Lenin concrete producing collective in Georgiyevsk in Stavropol Kray. He was Komsomol committee secretary, head of the lathe production distribution bureau, deputy head of the production floor, head of the production floor, and secretary of the party committee. Between 1953 and 1956 he served in the ranks of the Soviet Army. From 1967 to 1969 V. Markaryants was director of the bottle manufacturing factory in Stavropol. Between 1969 and 1970, he was chairman of the rayispolkom of the Oktyabrskiy rayon soviet of peoples deputies in Stavropol city. He was first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy raykom of Stavropol city from 1970 to 1974. Between 1974 and 1976, V. Markaryants was chairman of the gorispolkom of the soviet of peoples deputies of Stavropol city, and between 1976-1982 he was deputy chairman of the ispolkom of the Soviet of Peoples Deputies of Stavropol Kray. V. Markaryants served as first secretary of Stavropol gorkom between 1982 and 1985, and as party secretary for Stavropol kray from 1985 to 1988. Since 1988 he has been deputy USSR minister for the medical and microbiological industry.

V. Markaryants is a deputy of the RSRSF Supreme Soviet.

He has been decorated with two orders of the Red Banner, two orders of merit, and other medals, and has received a citation from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The decree of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on relieving Fadey Tachatovich Sarkisyan of his duties as chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers in line with his personal request for retirement has also been published.

Armenian Patriarch Nominated as Deputy Candidate

NC2301110689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] The election campaign is continuing in the republic. One of the [word indistinct] (?reports) that a pre-election meeting took place at the [name indistinct] factory in Edzhmiatsinskiy [words indistinct] a number of production units and (?city soviet) [words indistinct] collectives, during which it was proposed to nominate Vazgen I, supreme patriarch and catholicos of all Armenians, as a candidate people's deputy of the Soviet Union.

The speakers underlined the enormous national and international authority enjoyed by the Armenian catholicos because of his (?comprehensive) peaceful and humanistic endeavours. He decisively and realistically sees the nation's highest interest in the strengthening of friendship and fraternity among the peoples of our great Soviet homeland and in the consolidation of the centuries-old friendship and fraternity between the Armenian and Russian peoples. Vazgen I's contribution was highly praised by the state [word indistinct]. On his 80th birthday, he was decorated with the motherland's great award—the Red Banner of Labor—for his efforts toward peace.

The participants in the pre-election meeting unanimously decided to nominate Vazgen I, catholicos of all Armenians, as a candidate people's deputy of the Soviet Union from number 739 territorial election ogruk of Edzhmiatsinskiy.

Yerevan Conference Views Election Preparations

NC2001081289 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 20 Jan 89

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] A conference was held yesterday at the republic's supreme soviet presidium concerning the preparation and staging of elections of USSR people's deputies.

Nelli Stepanyan, secretary of the republican supreme soviet presidium, addressed the meeting.

The conferees' attention was drawn to the importance of staging pre-election speeches on the (?okrug level) and to the creation of equal conditions for each deputy to propose a pre-election agenda.

The paper has published an ARMENPRES report on the conference held at the republic's supreme soviet presidium.

Earthquake Commission Views Railway Problems

LD2101141989 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, Soviet Armenia, January 21 TASS—The Politburo earthquake commission held a routine working meeting here today. It was chaired by Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Yuriy Batalin.

The commission sharply criticised lack of organisation in the work of railwaymen and their disregard for the needs of their partners, as a result of which nearly all locomotive traffic and shunting work stops by night and the pace of vans' unloading drops.

Such an attitude hits especially hard enterprises producing building materials.

Regarding this issue as being of special importance, the commission will continue the discussion of it at its next meeting.

Tens of big building organisations from all regions of the country have launched construction work in urban and rural areas in the disaster zone.

Within the next few days, after basic prospecting and design work is over, they will start constructing dwelling and other buildings which will rest on massive concrete foundations which are to help them withstand earthquakes.

However, a sharp increase in concrete production is impossible without a corresponding growth in the production of sand, crushed stone and cement.

This is why the restoration of destroyed building enterprises and the construction of new ones will go along with the transition of these enterprises to a three-shift working regime.

This will require a considerable inflow of labour force: up to 2,000 people.

However, senior executives of the industry and the Armenian Council of Ministers on the whole have lost control over the solution of this problem which is vital for the republic.

The commission said that social and communal services to workers at building enterprises have long been neglected by management which also does not care about the forthcoming personnel replenishment.

Management should not count on labour force from other regions of the country, it should invite the local population.

Each day brings good news from villages hit by the devastating earthquake. People there remove rubble, open schools, build new houses, discuss general building plans for human settlements, and prepare for spring fieldwork.

The commission paid much attention to the spring sowing campaign at farms that have practically no able-bodied population left due to various reasons.

It was decided that workers from other areas of the country, who are not restoring buildings here, will take care of them for the time being.

Looting of Aid Trucks in Armenia Alleged

LD1501203789 Paris Domestic Service in French
1815 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Two trucks of the French humanitarian association, Amitie Pologne, carrying equipment for the victims of the earthquake in Armenia have been attacked by looters in the region of Spitak. Soviet soldiers had to intervene. Alain Michel, the president of this association, said this. According to him, several other convoys carrying aid for the disaster victims have already been intercepted and robbed under similar circumstances during the last few weeks.

Bakatin Meets Armenian, Azerbaijani Counterparts

LD2201111189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] On 18 and 19 January USSR Interior Minister Bakatin was in Azerbaijan. He visited a number of the republic's towns and rayons. Comrade Bakatin consulted with Azerbaijani SSR Interior Minister Mamedeov and Armenian SSR Interior Minister Arutunyan. Questions of strengthening mutual contacts in the task of increasing efforts to eliminate the consequences of the previous mass disorders, to prevent and expose crimes, to secure constitutional rights and legal interests of citizens, and give [word indistinct] assistance to refugees from both republics were discussed.

Comrade Bakatin met with Volskiy [not further identified] in Stepanakert. Problems of maintaining public peace and protecting order and legality under conditions of applying the special administration form in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of the Azerbaijan SSR were discussed.

The minister consulted with the leading staff of the Internal Affairs Department of the NKAO Autonomous Oblast and duties which must be fulfilled first were put forward. Great attention was focussed on repelling in time the actions of individuals who are striving to incite interethnic hostility and exacerbate the situation [sentence indistinct].

In Baku Comrade Bakatin consulted with the leading staff of the republic's Interior Ministry. [word indistinct] conditions and the situation of criminal actions were analyzed and accounting reports were heard about activities concerning providing the public with (?basic) service.

The minister established the main duties lying before the personnel in the area of changing the style and methods of activity and drew the attention to developing by all means the productivity of the party political work and of patriotism and internationalist education.

[Words indistinct] it is necessary to get rid of people who betray the interests of the services and to base work collectives more widely on the public. There were talks about the political importance of quickly regulating the situation, restoring law and order, helping the refugees to return to their former homes, and maintaining their normal living conditions.

Interior bodies must use their forces for active [word indistinct] fight against criminal actions of corruption, labor market of the secret economy, [word indistinct], bribe-takers, and speculators.

Bakatin was received by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Central Committee Communist Party. There were talks about (?measures) being taken by party and soviet bodies, public and [words indistinct] bodies for normalizing the situation, maintaining law and order and restoring social justice in the republic, and bringing to responsibility circles which are against restructuring and which disrupt stabilization and the people who propagate them.

Participating in the talks were: Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers; Gorelovskiy, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB; and Mamedov, Azerbaijani SSR interior minister.

Baku Commandant Says City 'Peaceful' 19 Jan

NC1901175289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 19 Jan 89

["Notice" by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 19 January]

[Text] The city is peaceful and there has been no significant change in the situation.

The residents of Baku are supporting all the measures that have been implemented to strengthen discipline and public law and order.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

City Remains Calm 20 Jan

NC2001115489 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Jan 89

["Notice" by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 20 January]

[Text] During the last 24 hours the situation in Baku has remained calm and ensured a normal tempo in the city's life and activity. No violations of public order were noted. During the curfew, fifty-six persons were detained.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Georgia Affected by Armenian AES Shutdown

LD2001133989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0635 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Tbilisi, 20 Jan [TASS]—Correspondent Alla Kokaya reports:

The shutdown of the Armenian AES, which was to a considerable degree responsible for meeting Georgia's requirements in electrical power, will have a tangible effect on shaping the energy balance of the Transcaucasian republic.

"We approve of and support the Soviet Government's decision to shut down the Armenian nuclear power station. At the same time, we are seeking other ways to obtain electricity for Georgia," a TASS correspondent was told by Tariel Lordkipanidze, deputy chairman of the republican council of ministers. "We see a solution to the problem, first and foremost, in the reconstruction of existing thermal power stations. For example, it has been decided to raise the capacity of the Tbilisi thermal power station threefold in a year through modernization and switching over to natural gas.

"In no way should the accelerated development of the industry be harmful to the environment. Some time ago, on public demand, we refused to build a large GES on the Khudoni River as it would harm the ecological balance in the Caucasian mountains. Now some people would like to go back to this scheme, but we have resisted. Moreover, it has been decided that no new traditional power engineering plants will be built in Georgia at all.

We will develop nontraditional and ecologically pure types of energy resources. In particular, we shall accelerate the production and assembly of solar panels. There already exists an enterprise which will begin to produce aproximately 10,000 square meters of them a year. The "Solntse" (Sun) cooperative, also aiming to make use of solar power, has begun operation. We intend to make a broader use of hot water from underground springs, of which there are in excess of 2,000 in Georgia. We also wish to try out large wind-based power installations.

Naturally, it will not be easy to make up completely for the shortage that has arisen. Over the next few months, it will be necessary to reduce somewhat the consumption of power in the republic. This will however, only affect industrial use. The population will not experience any changes, said the deputy head of the Georgian Government in conclusion.

Georgia Faces Heavy Snow, Transportation Problems

LD2001215089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Georgia has again been hit by heavy snowfall and hurricane winds. In the highland areas of (Ajaria) the snow cover has reached from 2 to 5m. Three people have died under avalanches. The hurricane wind has damaged high- voltage power line pylons. The Rikotskiy Pass—the main artery which connects western and eastern Georgia—has been closed for 3 days now. At present it is overloaded to the extreme by the increased flow of vehicle columns proceeding to Armenia. More than 300 trailers and some 2,000 motor vehicles are at a standstill. The delivery of important national-economy freights is being delayed. Three-thousand more road trains are en route.

The snow is still falling. Every 24 hours the snow cover increases by 50cm. The risk of avalanche persists in the mountains. The local population, military sub-units and Gai [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] employees have entered the struggle against the elements. All possible measures to improve the situation are being taken. (video shows falling snow; traffic jam of trucks and cars; long line of articulated trucks; people trudging through snow; a bulldozer pushing a truck.)

RSFSR Fish Industry Ministry Abolished

PM2001140189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] In connection with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 6 September 1988 "On the Transformation of the Union Republic USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry into the All-Union USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry," the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has abolished the union republic RSFSR Ministry of Fish Industry.

V. Mironenko Speech to Komsomol Plenum 13 Jan

PM1901150989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Speech delivered by V. Mironenko, first secretary of Komsomol Central Committee, at Komsomol Central Committee plenum in Moscow 13 January: "V. Mironenko's Speech"]

[Text] Comrades! The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau has instructed me to report on the first three questions on the agenda. We have agreed that we have to nominate candidates for people's deputy at this plenum, decide when and how we will elect the Komsomol deputies, have more consultations, and decide what we have to do about a general Komsomol debate. This is all in view of the situation and the time and in view of the fact that the election campaign is under way and we need to join in, both from the viewpoint of our internal Komsomol problems and the election of our deputies and from the viewpoint of our participation in elections to territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs.

I don't know what your opinion is, but I don't think that we need any long and thorough report on these questions. Although I want to stress that the questions are quite complex and difficult. Suffice it to say that we will be resolving them for the first time in the history of our league. As yet we have no experience on which we can rely in this work. We are in effect laying the foundations of this experience today at this Central Committee plenum. But the solutions that we have to find together are, without any exaggeration, of tremendous importance.

Millions of people, above all the league's members, will judge on the basis of our candidates for deputy and our election platform the seriousness of our intentions to ensure greater trust in young people and independence for them, notably in implementing political reform and the right to participate in all spheres of public life and in managing state affairs.

I believe that this is a serious test for both the nominees and the people who will do this today on behalf of the Komsomol.

I would like to brief you on the work carried out prior to the plenum and express a few views.

First, a word about the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy from the Komsomol. The Komsomol will by law elect its representatives directly to the supreme organ of state power for the first time in the history of the Komsomol.

Komsomol representation, in our opinion, opens up a real opportunity for us to take part in shaping a strong, integral state youth policy, a policy on young people. I believe that this is the next very important step after the need for such a policy was ranked as one of the most important tasks of restructuring at the 19th all-union party conference. Incidentally, I would like to stress that our delegates—the Komsomol members who were elected to the 19th all-union party conference—played a great role in winning recognition of this need; at least, they worked actively and persistently.

The Komsomol Central Committee plenum was preceded by work to draw up proposals for proposing candidates for USSR people's deputy. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and the commission to prepare the election of USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol that we all elected together at the previous plenum determined the procedure for nominating and electing the 75 Komsomol representatives as people's deputies in full accordance with the Law on Elections. Candidacies have been discussed in grassroots Komsomol organizations, at plenums, and at enlarged sessions of the bureaus of union republic Komsomol Central Committees and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms.

I want to say that the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, the Komsomol Central Committee Council of Young Scientists and Specialists, the Komsomol Central Committee Reservist Council action group, the V.I. Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization Central Council Bureau, and others took part in nominating the candidates—this is, of course, correct.

A number of proposals from gorkoms, Komsomol committees, and individuals were sent directly to the Komsomol Central Committee and a total of more than 130 letters and telegrams containing proposals nominating and supporting particular candidacies were received.

As a result, by 5 January, as the electoral commission had instructed, proposals had been received recommending 207 people from the Komsomol for nomination as candidates for USSR people's deputy.

The plenum's participants are in possession of full information regarding all the recommended candidacies, people who, despite their youth, have succeeded in winning respect and prestige within their organizations. You have these lists, they have been distributed to all the members of the central elected organs, and I hope that the other participants in the plenum have been able to acquaint themselves with them.

I want to stress that all the comrades recommended by Komsomol organizations were given this opportunity. First, you have been given brief biographical information about them and, second, if a comrade so desired, his brief platform or program—what he is taking to the elections—is set out.

I would like to offer a brief analysis of the composition of the comrades who have been proposed. I think that this will also be important.

Moreover, in the case in question it is important because there were no regulators, no lists, and no advice or recommendations from the Central Committee and we deemed it of fundamental importance to ensure that these nominations took place quite freely without any influence and that Komsomol members' will was absolute, just as they wanted to see it.

Of the comrades that have been named and who are on the lists, 48 are members of central Komsomol elected organs, 55 are Komsomol workers, including 22 first secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees, kraykoms, and obkoms. Virtually one in three is a people's deputy, and this is also a good thing. I must point out that the candidacies include 26 workers, 26 agricultural workers, 32 representatives of science, culture, art, public education, and health, 14 medics and candidates of sciences, 17 servicemen, and 5 students. Your list includes representatives from all the union republics. I would like to stress this. It is particularly important, very important. We would like to ensure that the situation remains the same here after our voting today.

More than 11 percent are women.

Comrades, on the instructions of the Fourth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum, all the proposals received were examined as a preliminary measure by a group of participants in our plenum comprising 63 members of the central elected organs and the first secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees and Komsomol obkoms.

At the request of the Central Committee and the Central Committee Bureau, these people met and talked with each of the recommended comrades. Proposals on candidates for deputy were formulated on the basis of study of their election programs, personal professional and political qualities, on the basis of their biographical data, of course, and on the basis of personal impressions.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau has examined these proposals, it supports them, and it thinks that they could be used as a basis for discussion at today's plenum. You also have these proposals. Of course, this is not an exhaustive list of proposed candidates and no restrictions are, so to speak, being imposed here. Each of the plenum's participants can add to it if he considers this necessary, in full accordance with Article 39 of the Law on Elections. The fact that we have a strict quota, set at 75 people, must be taken into consideration here. That must certainly be taken into consideration. The more thoroughly and responsibly we work at today's plenum, the more precise and better gauged will be our choice in March and the more fruitful will be the activity of the group of deputies that we will ultimately form and elect.

I would also like to brief you on the approaches guiding the Central Committee commission on preparations for the elections, that is, members of the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau, during the compilation of the list of candidates. I think that this is important. You should have an idea of them.

First, we proceeded on the basis of local Komsomol committees' recommendations—you can easily see this for yourselves by analyzing the lists that have been presented.

Second, preference was, of course, given to the most active and vigorous representatives of young workers, kolkhoz members, and students, to staunch advocates of restructuring, the democratization of society, and the Komsomol.

Third, we consider it of fundamental importance to ensure that the candidates are primarily young people who are fully entitled to represent the interests of our young people and our youth organization. For one must bear in mind the fact that the quota of 75 places constitutes in effect guaranteed representation for young people and Komsomol members in the country's supreme organ of state power because it is quite difficult to engage in conjecture over the outcome of the struggle (I mean from the viewpoint of young people and older people) in the territorial and national-territorial okrugs. This guarantee should certainly be fully utilized without, of course, relaxing the struggle to nominate young candidates in territorial and national-territorial okrugs. We think that this stance will win support both from the plenum's participants and from the members of our organization.

Before the plenum—and I want to tell you this quite frankly—we had to resolve a complex task and resolve what we regard as a fundamental issue when formulating the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau proposals. Komsomol organizations recommended for nomination as candidates for deputy secretaries and members of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau, first secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees, and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms, thus expressing, I believe, their trust and respect.

I hope you will agree that this is in itself the first important result of the election work. The Bureau members, Komsomol Central Committee secretaries, and secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms named as possible candidates for deputy instructed me to thank the union republic Komsomol Central Committees, kraykoms, and obkoms for their trust.

With the participation of the first secretaries of the union republic Komsomol Central Committees, the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau decided, after consultations with kraykom and obkom secretaries, that it would be correct in this situation to give the following people an opportunity to represent the Komsomol in the supreme organ of state power: Komsomol members, Komsomol activists, and personnel above all from primary organizations, Komsomol raykoms, and Komsomol gorkoms. Or to be more correct, from rayon and city organizations, to be absolutely precise.

They include—and we saw this in the course of conversations—real fighters for restructuring who can cope with the duties of people's deputy. Incidentally, they could at the same time pass through the difficult school of political activity and together with us, members of the Komsomol Central Committee, they could form a group of people who could struggle here at the center for the aims and tasks that we are setting ourselves and will talk about today during the discussion of our platform.

A number of the first secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees will enter the election struggle in territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs and we hope that they will be able to bring the Komsomol a few more deputies' mandates.

One must also remember that there are elections coming up in the union republics where, in accordance with the changes made to the Constitution, Komsomol [parliamentary] factions which they could head will also be formed.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau has also decided that the Central Committee first secretary should run as part of the Komsomol quota and answer to the Komsomol Central Committee for his work in the organs of state power if he is entrusted with a deputy's mandate.

I would like to stress once again that the list that you have includes representatives of all the union republics. In our opinion, this is of fundamentally great significance. This is the only principle that we tried to use when these proposals were formed and compiled, and I think you will agree it is an informal one. Although I want to stress once again, comrades, that this work was difficult in practice: discussions, agreements, and consultations—the Bureau worked for 3 days.

The second question is the Komsomol's election platform.

The current Central Committee plenum is to form the draft political platform that the Komsomol will take to the elections of people's deputies. We proceeded from the following considerations when elaborating this platform.

First, we based ourselves on the theses that are being prepared for the general Komsomol debate in accordance with the decisions of the Fourth Central Committee plenum.

Second, we based ourselves on the approaches elaborated during preparation of the USSR Law on Young People.

Third, we tried to formulate our vision of the main priorities in the emerging state youth policy, and we regard this as a step on the way to preparing for a possible CPSU Central Committee plenum on the problems of young people.

In examining this question, the Central Committee Bureau defined election work as the Komsomol's priority task over the next 3 months. As for the theses for the Komsomol debate, it is proposed to continue work on them and take into consideration the ideas elaborated in the course of the election campaign and in the course of the discussion of our organization's platform. It is proposed to discuss the theses themselves this fall in the course of the report and election meetings, beginning with Komsomol groups and ending with oblast and kray Komsomol conferences.

We have a unique opportunity to pool diverse constructive ideas in the election platform, to support the burgeoning innovations that are finding it difficult to make headway in many Komsomol organizations, and to propose a constructive system of measures to resolve a number of the socioeconomic problems that are troubling not only young people today but also our entire society.

In effect the election platform must reflect our understanding of the Komsomol's new role in Soviet society. We will judge all together how we have succeeded in this. Using this as a base, we must also show voters the political nature of our organization.

I believe that there is no need to adduce the reasons behind all the planks of the draft election platform that has been proposed to you. I would like to single out the main point. This draft reflects young people's desire to unite around the party's course of restructuring and democratizing our society. The CPSU Central Committee address that has been published today will enable us to approach the formulation of this platform in an even more considered and precise fashion. We see it as the organizing principle in all avenues of Komsomol work and as an opportunity to link debate with real constructive practice.

I would like to specially stress that we do not regard the draft—nor would I like you to regard it—as definitive. We hope that it will be actively discussed, first, at the current plenum, and, second, we expect this draft to be very vigorously discussed and thoroughly thrashed out, chewed over, discussed, and criticized in the country's Komsomol organizations in the 2 months remaining before the elections. As a result, at the moment when we have to elect our deputies we could at the same time assess the results of this discussion and formulate our platform definitively in the light of the opinion of the entire organization and those people who have taken part in the discussion and in the light of the proposals that we have received. We think that this would probably be correct.

It is now important for us to coordinate the general stance that candidates for deputy will defend in the course of the elections and implement in the future. I would like to stress the following point: First, the CPSU election platform has already been adopted, public organizations' platforms will be adopted and have already been adopted in part, and there is probably no need for us to repeat or duplicate them. Second, in our draft we must reflect the most essential positions of the candidates for deputy who will be supported at the plenum. That is why it is proposed that the people whom we are to nominate today also join in this work during the months remaining until the elections. Third, and this is perhaps the most important point, in the course of the election campaign we must ensure that the platform expresses as closely as possible the fundamental interests of young people and, of course, the interests of society in raising young people.

It must be borne in mind that the election platform is a fundamental position that candidates for deputy will have to resolutely uphold in accordance with the will of the Komsomol Central Committee. So the election campaign will in effect be a test of their readiness—the readiness of the people whom we nominate—to defend the interests of young people's education. Since the campaign itself will be very open and democratic, preparations must be made for it, and very earnest ones at that. The first step must be the elaboration of a single concerted approach to the election platform. This should be one of the main tasks of our plenum—that is what the Bureau reckons.

In the atmosphere of keen debate we must not allow people to get carried away with bustling activity on the part of the apparatus or leftist phrases, however attractive and promising they may seem at first glance. Because no one will forgive us any delay and bureaucratic procrastination, on the one hand, and irresponsible schemes, on the other.

We must assume precisely the degree of responsibility for which we are prepared today, which is within our power, and of which we are capable, and quite a great deal is within our power—we have already been able to see this for ourselves.

The candidates for deputy who will be nominated at the plenum will need substantial assistance from the members of the central elected organs and our mass media, our journalists, and Komsomol committees. I would like very much to hope that this aid will be forthcoming. For its part the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat will offer the candidates for deputy all the requisite support. I think that we will ensure that the Komsomol Central Committee apparatus, which has the experience, the information, and the opportunity to help every candidate gauge his positions and determine his platform even more precisely, does everything necessary for this.

One last point. A word about holding the elections for people's deputy from the Komsomol. There were varying opinions on this. We need to adopt a decision today on the times and procedure for holding these elections. By law elections of deputies from the Komsomol should take place no earlier than 20 days before election day and no later than the day of the electoral okrug elections. That is our timeframe and we must proceed on this basis.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau proposes scheduling the elections of USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol for 17 March 1989.

Now a word about the procedure for holding these elections. By law the elections of people's deputies from social organizations can take place at congresses, conferences or plenums of all-union organs. That is what the law says. After discussing all the possible options (incidentally, the discussion was also quite sharp-tongued and the opinions were, so to speak, at first divergent, then they were mulled over, and all the pros and cons were discussed) the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau submitted the following plenum draft decision—allow me to read it out—for your discussion.

First. To convene a Komsomol Central Committee plenum on elections of USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol 17-18 March 1989 in Moscow.

Second. The voting during elections of USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol will take place with the participation of (that is, the vote will effectively be given to) candidate members of the Komsomol Central Committee, members of the Komsomol Central Auditing Commission, first secretaries of the union republic Komsomol Central Committees, Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms, and second secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees, assistant chiefs for Komsomol work from political directorates and political departments of branches and arms of the USSR Armed Forces, okrugs, groups of forces, fleets, leaders of Central Committee departments and subdivisions, central youth mass media, and Komsomol Central Committee public formations that are not part of the central elected Komsomol organs.

Third and last. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau is to present, as laid down by law, a list of voters at the Komsomol Central Committee plenum to the electoral commission on elections of USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol.

That, in brief, is perhaps everything that reflects the stance of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau on the first three questions on our plenum's agenda.

Academician on Human Rights Observance

PM1701143989 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences V.A. Kartashkin by APN correspondent V. Malushkov under the rubric "Competent Interlocutor": "Defending Its Citizens' Rights"; date, place not given; first paragraph is SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction]

[Text] Speaking at the United Nations, M.S. Gorbachev assessed highly the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and stressed that this document, adopted 40 years ago, remains topical to this day. How is the Soviet Union improving conditions for the observance and defense of its citizens' rights? An APN correspondent discusses this with Doctor of Juridical Sciences V.A. Kartashkin, who worked for many years in the UN Human Rights Department.

[Malushkov] The rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and subsequently enshrined in treaty form by pacts on human rights have met with real embodiment in the USSR. The achievements in these fields are indisputable. But they do not prevent us from seeing contradictions in our development. We do not conceal the fact that there are also shortcomings in our country. How is a firm legal basis being created for the further development of Soviet democracy?

[Kartashkin] The restructuring taking place in the country is aimed at the further development of democracy and the fullest implementation of the Soviet people's rights and freedoms. The task of turning the Soviet state into a rule-of-law state, which was set at the 19th party conference, presupposes the adoption of a whole series of laws, including making legislation accord more fully with the universal declaration and pacts on human rights.

This work is already under way. As is well known, the December extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted laws on introducing amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and on elections of USSR people's deputies. Recently important legislative acts have been adopted, such as the USSR laws on the state enterprise, on individual labor activity, on cooperatives in the USSR, and many others. Laws on voluntary societies and associations, on the press, on young people, on freedom of conscience, and several others are being prepared. The process of court and legal reform is under way.

Further work must be done to improve constitutional legislation. It seems to me that one of its avenues will be the intensification of the substance of articles on Soviet citizens' rights and freedoms and on safeguarding them in full. I would be in favor of expanding Article 58 of the USSR Constitution, which has granted citizens the right to appeal to the court against illegal actions by officials violating their rights. This year the law which stipulated the procedure for complaining only against the individual actions of officials entered into force.

Article 50 of the USSR Constitution contains a list of basic freedoms of citizen such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom for gatherings, meetings, street marches and demonstrations. Obviously the state's Fundamental Law must include detailed, independent articles on each type of freedom.

[Malushkov] The years of the personality cult and the period of stagnation also deformed legislative practice to a certain degree, especially with regard to a number of citizens' individual rights. "Everyone has the right to freely leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country," the universal declaration solemnly proclaims. The implementation of this right has been encountering certain difficulties for a long time. Is the situation being righted in this field?

[Kartashkin] Yes, much is changing in this field now. The additions to the provision on entering and leaving the USSR, regulating trips of this kind, and simplifying the procedure for them entered into force 1 January 1987. But only 6 months later the need was revealed for substantial corrections to existing legislation, and they were introduced in June 1987. The process of improving the norms regulating entry and exit is continuing: The draft of a special law on this question complying with the universal declaration has been prepared.

[Malushkov] "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state," the universal declaration states. But under the provision on the passport system in the USSR all citizens must register at the militia and be discharged when they move. For malicious violation of the passport system, guilty citizens can have not only administrative but also criminal charges brought against them. What is your attitude toward the problem of registration?

[Kartashkin] The existing passport system is in fact causing enormous harm to society: Fictitious marriages and bribes flourish, quota workers ["limitchiki"] appear, and organized recruitments are practiced. A person becomes a hostage to registration; without it he cannot find work, get housing, change his profession—in other words exercise the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the pacts on human rights.

The implementation of a human right is thus being made dependent on the discretion of the official who gives permission to register.

I believe the natural circulation of the population is one condition for society's development along the path of progress and for economic growth. Debates are now under way as to whether to abandon registration or retain it. Perhaps as an experiment it could be eliminated in a number of cities?

In my opinion, retaining registration impedes the implementation of economic reform and is incompatible with the transition to economic accountability and self-financing. The elimination of the administrative-edict management of the economy should lead to the natural regulation of the influx of the population to a particular part of the country. Not tied by registration, not afraid of losing their apartments, people will travel freely where there is the need for manpower.

I am sure that granting citizens the right to freedom of movement within our state will lead neither to anarchy nor to crises connected with the influx of a large mass of the population to a particular part of our country. It is well known that kolkhoz members once had no passports and consequently could not freely leave their kolkhoz. Those on whom the solution of this question depended were sure that granting the kolkhoz members passports would lead to the entire village population fleeing to the cities. I shall stress once more that the state should use economic methods to resolve economic problems and should not resolve economic questions administratively, by means of coercion.

[Malushkov] In the Soviet Union there exists the Law on USSR Citizenship, which provides for the possibility of depriving a Soviet citizen of his citizenship. How does this law comply with the universal declaration?

[Kartashkin] The point is that the legal regulation of this question is within the state's internal competence. Each state implements this regulation as it sees fit but proceeding from the commitments in international law which the state has assumed.

The Law on USSR Citizenship stresses that a USSR citizen can be deprived of citizenship if his actions discredit the lofty title of USSR citizen and harm the country's prestige and state security. In my view these definitions are not specific enough and can be used to the detriment of citizens' interests.

[Malushkov] The universal declaration states that everyone has the right to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any medium and regardless of frontiers. But in our country there are various closed archives and special stores. There are also bans on certain important types of literature, video information, and so forth. How do these restrictions comply with this article of the universal declaration?

[Kartashkin] I think that the measures which our state is implementing in the process of restructuring are in fact aimed at ensuring that our country's information policy fully accords with this article of the declaration.

Thus, for instance, it is well known that the widespread sale of Western literature, including newspapers—the reading of which was until recently "not encouraged," to put it mildly—is being planned. Many special stores are now being abolished—the books, newspapers, and journals in them are being transferred to the general reading rooms. The dissemination of this information will comply with the above-mentioned article of the declaration.

[Malushkov] The concept of all-embracing international security is based on the principles of the UN Charter and proceeds from the binding nature of international law for all states. Vladimir Alekseyevich, from your viewpoint, in which direction will international law develop?

[Kartashkin] The development of international relations, the emergence of global problems, and the acute problem of man's survival are leading to the point where the role of the United Nations and other international organizations will be intensified more and more. In the world today states cannot agree to the creation of a world government. But the United Nations will take on a whole series of functions and powers which are now characteristic of many national states; that is, the states will concede part of their sovereignty to it. International law will increasingly perform the role of world law, although, of course, even in the remote future it will be impossible to equate international law and world law.

Economic

1988 National Economic Statistics Reported

LD2101174889 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—National income produced in the Soviet Union last year made up 625 billion roubles, and gross national product reached 866 billion rubles, the USSR State Committee for Statistics said today.

The committee summed up results of the country's socioeconomic development in 1988.

The Statistics Committee said that the share of the consumption fund in national income grew due to the economy's social reorientation.

However, plans for some major indices for 1988, including national income, were not fulfilled.

Soviet industrial output went up by 3.9 percent last year. The growth of labour productivity, accompanied by the absolute reduction of the number of workers, accounted for the whole of the increment of industrial output.

Capital investments in the development of the agri-industrial complex amounted to 65 billion rubles, or 102 percent of the quota.

Analysing results of the fulfillment of the country's social development programme, the Statistics Committee said payments to the population from social consumption funds in pensions, allowances and scholarships grew nearly by 5 billion rubles, or by 7 percent.

Expenditures on the development of the health protection system grew.

The deliveries of goods by industry for trade (without alcoholic drinks) grew by 6 percent to reach 273 billion rubles.

Despite a certain growth in the production of foodstuffs, the situation in the provision of the population with them remains tense, the Statistics Committee said.

Eleven million people improved their living conditions.

Last year, the Soviet Union conducted foreign economic operations with more than 140 countries.

The foreign trade turnover rose to 132 billion rubles, or by 2.1 percent. The bigger part of trade operations, or over 65 percent of the country's foreign trade turnover, were conducted with socialist countries.

Economists on 'Unavoidable' Inflation in USSR

LD1901171489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 3, 15 Jan 89 p 10

[Roundtable "For Discussion" feature involving economists Pavel Bunich, Viktor Ivanter, Nikolay Petravok, and MOSCOW NEWS analyst Vladimir Gurevich: "Our Inflation. Unavoidable, But the Spontaneous Process Can Be Controlled And Even Made Profitable"]

[Text] "Inflation means the depreciation of money, intrinsically inherent in the capitalist economy and manifested primarily in the general and uneven rise in the prices of goods and services; leads to a redistribution of the national income and national wealth in favour of the ruling classes and to the detriment of the working people." [Financial-Crediting Dictionary, Vol. 1, Moscow 1984, p. 473).

Were this dictionary to be published now, inflation would hardly be depicted as a "privilege" of capitalism. Generally speaking, we foresaw it even earlier. But did we give a thought to the nature of inflation in our own economy? The more so, to the measures needed to bring it under control? These problems are discussed by: Pavel Bunich, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Viktor Ivanter, D.Sc. (Economics), Nikolay Petrakov, corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Vladimir Gurevich, "MN" analyst.

MN: The first admission that we have inflation was in 1987. Since then, we have said many a time: Let's publish a real price index, let's at least find out what level of inflation we have. But this vicious index has never appeared.

Ivanter: It's a typical delusion to think that, somewhere above, there are the exact inflation figures and the real price index, concealed from the people. The exact figures simply don't exist.

Petrakov: Even if we sit down and count, this will not be an easy occupation. In a normal economy it is not difficult to compute the dynamics of prices, which will express the level of inflation. Our market, however, has been deformed, and the level of unsatisfied demand is enormous. So our inflation is expressed not only in prices, but in scarcities, queues and a great mass of "surplus" money.

MN: So what, is no one in a position even to give an estimate?

Ivanter: We have made our estimates. The unaccounted for, concealed growth of our wholesale and retail prices stands at 2-2.5 percent a year. Plus 15 percent of money turnover on a nationwide scale—the "surplus" money for which there are no products. This is what amounts to our "inflation potential". I think, in general, the process of inflation cannot be avoided, but there is a need to learn to influence it.

Petrakov: There is both spontaneous and controllable inflation and a world of difference between the two. For the time being, we don't know how to control it.

Bunich: It's time to admit that inflation is a fact of any economy. In some cases it serves as an instrument of the market, its flexibility, balance, the quick flow of capital into sectors where prices keep growing. And this inflation has a positive part to play. Besides everything else, because it is unattended by a fall in the standard of living, while incomes at least keep pace with prices. But there is another, uncontrollable inflation. There is inflation generated by endless shortages and money which is looking for commodities but can't find them.

MN: Why is there surplus money?

Bunich: First, because the state doesn't cut its coat according to the cloth. It adopts one programme after another—give here, give there. But neither are the enterprises paying their way. There is no real self financing. We daren't establish a direct link between pay and result. There are thousands of factories and collective farms running at a loss which owe their existence to subsidies. And when construction projects are not finished on time or just abandoned, the builders got their wages, but what have they given? Have you seen the trees growing out of such buildings? Serikov, our famous builder, showed me one such tree whose rings indicated that it was seven years old. Those were the rings of inflation. Then the stockpiles of uninstalled equipment running into billions. Worthless consumer goods settled down for life in warehouses. Nobody buys them, but the enterprise has an income and pays wages. With this money—fictitious money—people go shopping, want to buy equipment. It is also supplied into the budget from which the state distributes investments, it also goes into the bank which uses it to give credits.... Inflation is all around us.

MN: Even where we don't suspect it?

Bunich: We may suspect, but we are not yet discussing it. For instance, the social funds, i.e., the share of free services, have been growing at an excessive rate. But this is no more than inflation. And defence? How long have we written that, in the United States, military spending adds to the state budget deficit? And in our case—doesn't it take from the budget? I don't know exactly how strong our army is numerically, but I know that it is large. A reduction by half a million is also a step towards cutting inflation.

Ivanter: There is one more problem. Due to the undeveloped nature of the consumer goods sector we have started switching the manufacture of some products over to defence industry factories. And what have they done? They raised the prices—to begin with. True, they have now been made to lower prices, but they will simply write it off to the main, defence output. And the second thing. For many years now defence industry factories have been making TV sets. But they are both expensive and their quality is poor. It's a different thing to have conversion, when the factory is in general converted to the manufacture of civilian products.

Bunich: Inflation in present-day conditions also implies a parasitic managerial apparatus. The merger of ministries won't help here. We must open our eyes: Out of the 18 million managerial personnel the bulk is concentrated at enterprises. And they live a quiet life there in the absence of genuine cost accounting.

Petrakov: Yet they are not to be found wherever it exists. Co-op members gain even by the fact that they have cut down this entire personnel. Even they sell at state prices, they still double their incomes because they get rid of overhead. Or else they switch a non-paying factory to the lease system and it immediately starts giving profits. Is this a miracle?

Bunich: But we are obviously not in a hurry to transfer other enterprises to the same system. We begin to reason which model of cost accounting is better: the first, the second or the third—when it is already clear which.

Ivanter: It's like in Bulgakov: There can be no sturgeon flesh of second freshness. Freshness can only be of the first type. We are beginning to invent cost-accounting models and to palm this off as "economic pluralism", whereas cost accounting either exists or does not exist.

Bunich: I would name one more fundamental reason for inflation. Monopoly. We have a lot of wailers: The reform, they cry, undermines centralism and estranges the state. But the struggle against monopoly—isn't that a task of the state? It is a task of most importance.

MN: How does monopoly engender inflation?

Petrakov: In the simplest way. A monopolist sets the price. He has no incentives for lowering costs. Why do we have one Aeroflot or Intourist? After all, it is possible to organize different kinds of tourism—with rucksacks or by car. May different organizations compete. For instance, there is the Georgian department of Aeroflot. But why not a company?

Bunich: But nothing will happen if we simply make our large organizations into smaller ones and leave them as before on undecided cost-accounting. There is to be no competition.

MN: It appears that there is a variety of reasons for our inflation. But the impression is that it is today that money is being printed at an accelerated pace. True, we do not publish the figures.

Ivanter: But the printing machine must not be regarded as the sole reason for the emission of new banknotes. This involves the whole money turnover: both non-ready money and cash. And we dashed as early as in the 1960s, as indicated by the high jump of deposits in savings banks. Moreover, the dash was prompted by good intentions: the population started receiving money which had previously been invested almost completely in heavy industry and defence. But no equal growth occurred in respect to commodities and services—it was the same paper money.

Petrakov: The economic reform of the 1960s was not developed. Steps were made towards economic methods, but they had all the prerequisites for inflation. There was no escaping this. It was impossible to act with half-measures—we should have developed the reform. However, it was feared and halted, whereas inflation had already started sailing. The drama and the paradox of the situation—we now have all the troubles of inflation, without the nice things that the market can bring. The Hungarians, or, say, the Chinese also have inflation, but in conditions of a growing and diversified consumer market. Now we have entered upon a new reform. There is a need to take into account the lessons of the old one. Either we again suffer the inflationary eruption (again with empty shop counters), which will put paid to the reform, or we work in real earnest to build a socialist market, only with an anti-inflationary programme.

MN: Do you have the impression that the central bodies have such a programme?

Petrakov: There is an instruction to this effect. So far, we are more inclined just to talk about it.

Ivanter: Moreover, one recipe is given at what might be called the ordinary level: If there are stable prices, there will be no inflation. But, first, no one has yet been able to hobble prices. We tried to commandeer them, but they still disobeyed, and now we have the economy which we have. Second, even if they become stable, while surplus money keeps circulating, we will still have inflation and a weak ruble. On the other hand, simply raising prices just now—as the State Committee for Prices has proposed—is tantamount to getting a new spiral of inflation.

MN: Thus, much, if not everything, rests on money for which there are no commodities. How right then are those who speak about the need for currency reform?

Ivanter: A purely economic approach is impossible here. For many decades, we have educated both the population and enterprises in the feeling of mistrust for the state's financial policy. And we have succeeded in this. Even a hint at monetary reform will empty the shelves of stores and wholesale warehouses. I do not undertake to foretell the consequences.

Petrakov: Monetary reform in the sense in which it is understood by everyone should not be carried out. We have to change monetary policy, not the money. A monetary reform now is an anti-social measure. We are being called upon to confiscate big deposits in savings banks. But even if a thief puts in a deposit, he disperses it and, more often than not, materializes it by converting it into gold, etc. So the blow will hit honest depositors. What we need is a different kind of reform. And primarily—rigid control over the sale of goods and payment of wages. Labour, which has not yielded real commodity, must not be paid for.

Bunich: And the second thing. Money must be expensive. Credits must be given for solid interest and with inexorable terms of repayment. We, however—in the guise of credit—are continuing the policy of free handouts and, in so doing, cry in bewilderment—whence the inflation? In translation from Latin, inflation means "swelling". Our present-day banking system has simply been pumping tens of billions of inflationary roubles into the economy. This paper flux is the cause of a multitude of diseases.

Ivanter: One more problem which I see as highly important. Our Ministry of Finance and State Bank belong to the government. This means that it is possible to persuade, to order them to issue. But, in the rest of the world, the central banks do not belong to the government, precisely to prevent uncontrolled commands being made. Until the State Bank becomes independent, it will be difficult to halt the issue and distribution of money for various projects, although each time it turns out that there is a shortage of material resources for them—this is something which also stimulates inflation.

Petrakov: In general, exorbitant government, departmental expenses are a problem of fundamental importance. For instance, changing the flow of rivers—where did they hope to get so much money for this? Fortunately, it attracted the attention of the public at large. And how many other giant programmes are there? How thoroughly are they being analyzed and who takes part in the discussion? Take the project with Mitsubishi for the creation of a series of petrochemical works in Siberia: This will require an immense amount of money, but the returns can be expected only in the next century. These products are necessary, but has it been calculated what the effect will be on inflation? How many projects of this kind can we afford simultaneously? They also exist in the Caspian region—has this been taken into account? In the past we did not count, we used to give an assignment and that was that—now we must count in public.

MN: Incidentally, the question—where does money come from? Could also have this reply: Many people are prepared to credit the construction of enterprises in the consumer goods sector, for instance, the car works in Yelabuga, on condition, naturally, that they will be guaranteed the right to buy these cars which are in short supply.

Bunich: This is the right path. They become shareholders, but in this case they will have to be repaid with interest—after all, they are crediting the state. Generally speaking, this kind of loan, the sale of shares, as well as the holding of lotteries—not on miserable terms like now—all of this amounts to veritable unbroken ground for local soviets. The profit will be double-pronged: The money belonging to the population will no longer weigh heavily upon the market and the consumer goods sector will be developed.

Petrakov: Indeed, this step would be effective. But the step we have made has merely aggravated the situation. When we started losing revenue from the sale of oil, we crossed out medicine, consumer goods, etc., from the list of imports. And the market grew poorer. A vicious circle had developed. People do not want to work better until they can buy something with their money. But until they start working better there will be nothing in the shops. I believe that, here, we must have a boost from outside—a definite amount of good imports on the market for a couple of years.

Ivanter: There are things which simply must be imported: coffee and medicine. But, in general, we need to saturate the market with equipment. Commodity imports could not have produced effect comparable to the construction of the motor works in Togliatti and the emergence of Zhiguli cars.

Bunich: I believe that a growth in the import of consumer goods is possible as a temporary, intermediate step. The key to solving the problems of both market and inflation is real cost accounting and competition, plus control over the emission, credits and government programmes. These are our trump cards. If we do not intend to go on hiding them, we should start using them.

Agricultural

1988 National Agriculture Statistics Released

LD2101140989 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The USSR State Statistical Committee reported on Saturday that last year the USSR fell short of the planned grain production target by 38 million tons. The volume of grain deliveries to the state was 25.6 million tons below the planned target. Grain imports, mostly fodder grain, amounted to 36 million tons. After summing up the results of the Soviet Union's socioeconomic development in 1988, the State Statistical Committee reported that the average yield of grain crops in the country was 17.0 centners per hectare as against 18.3 centners in 1987. Wheat output was 84.5 million tons, rice output—2.9 and grain maize output—16.0 million tons. The output of other grain crops was reduced.

The committee pointed out that gross agricultural output of the country was increased by 1.6 billion rubles, or 0.7 percent, in 1988 as against the previous year. Stock-breeding output went up by 4.2 billion rubles, or by 3.4 percent. Unlike stock-breeding, plant-growing reduced its output by 2.6 billion rubles, or by 2.7 percent.

At the same time, statistics show some improvement in the economic situation of agricultural enterprises. Thus, the profits of collective and state farms amounted to 34 billion rubles in 1988, which is 6 billion rubles, or 22 percent more, than in 1987. The number of loss-making enterprises was reduced from 6,500 in 1987 to 2,100 last year. The growth of profits can be largely explained by the greater use of agreed prices and the growth of additional payments for the produce sold to the state.

The gross output of potatoes, vegetables, fruit and grapes went down in many parts of the country. This is why the plan of their deliveries to the state was not fulfilled. The state order for the purchasing of cotton fibre was fulfilled. Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia overfulfilled the plans. 405,000 tons of the more valuable fine-fibre varieties of cotton were purchased, which is 34,000 more than in 1987. A total of 2.7 million tons of cotton fibre were purchased as against 2.5 million tons in 1987.

Meat and eggs output went up by 2 percent and milk output by 3 percent as against 1987.

Over 330,000 tractors, 300,000 trucks and 100,000 harvesters were delivered to the agri-industrial complex. At the same time industry failed to deliver to the agri-industrial complex some 30,000 tractor cultivators and many other farm machines.

Capital investments in the development of the agri-industrial complex amounted to 65 billion roubles, or 102 percent of the allocations.

Agricultural Developments for 13-19 Jan Reported

LD2001013589 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian. Unless otherwise indicated, 13-19 January GMT times of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

13 January

No fileworthy items monitored

14 January

The sugar refineries of Bashkirya have started processing the second million tonnes of beets, with 100,000 tonnes of product being dispatched to consumers, including nearly 4000 tonnes above plan. (1400)

15-19 January

No fileworthy items monitored.

Scientific

Continuing Secrecy in Science Questioned

PM1901143589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor L. Barskiy: "Time of Glasnost and Time of Secrecy"]

[Text] Please forgive me. I know that it is not customary to talk and write about this. Just as it is not customary to talk or write about the intimate side of life. Everyone knows that it exists. But they pretend it does not. We have already admitted the existence of prostitution, corruption, and drug addiction. But we speak of secrecy only in connection with the past. Although it would be worth wondering: Is there not a lot of secrecy in the era of glasnost? At any rate, at least three questions need frank answers: Are all the secrets that we protect state secrets? How much does this protection cost? And, who needs it?

It would seem absurd to make a secret of a backward production facility, archaic technology, computers of past generations, and enterprises that pollute the environment. But we do. It is obviously because, as we lag behind, the number of secrets is reduced, which cannot be said of the apparatus designed to protect them. So the unpublished [neglasnyy] order to continue to protect them is not admitted. Why? If only not to ruin our prestige.

Classifying is always permitted. But a certain audacity is needed to declassify something; it is a process fraught with difficulty. That is why the process of classification in our country is almost irreversible. It creeps on, gradually going beyond the framework of common sense. And so scientific and technical secrets known to the entire world remain a secret to the engineers of the neighboring plant engaged in a similar matter. And the intersectorial exchange of ideas, manufacturing processes, and inventions is totally impossible. The overall standard and pace of the development of technology are steadily declining.

Hypotheses and scientific ideas and theories would in general not seem to be subject to classification. But the lack of precise boundaries between science and technology here, too, helps to "obscure the issue." The bureaucratic principle whereby it is simpler to ban than to authorize is at work. Following this principle, bureaucrats of all ranks are trying to turn the very principle of accelerating the idea that "everything that is not banned is permitted" into its diametric opposite.

One of the "favorite" spheres of secrecy is our resources—natural, raw material, economic, and semifinished material resources. In the era of satellites and computers that can calculate all industrial links and expenditure coefficients [raskhodnyye koeffitsienty], data about our resources become widely accessible and are known to specialists, in addition to our own economists, of course. From this it is clear how little logic there is in protecting the coordinates and volume of stocks of minerals. Who will steal them? And who is interested in them if we take 15-20 years to develop deposits using our own efforts?

Until recently the pandemic of secrecy was justified by the need to protect defense information. But new times have come, and the policy of cold war and confrontation has given way to talks on disarmament and the treaty on the elimination of an entire class of nuclear weapons. Plans for the production of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles are subject to inspection and continuous observation. But the restructuring of political thinking still does not guarantee the restructuring of the bureaucratic apparatus. That is another department.

A typical situation is for departmental secrets to be protected more vigilantly than state secrets. This priority can easily be explained by the possibility that official omissions and scandals may be discovered. Their revelation involves the threat of unpleasantnesses for specific people while the revelation of state secrets is not so dangerous. So departments try to promote their secrets to the rank of state secrets. Only this can explain the phenomenon of the prolonged concealment of information about accidents, environmental pollution, fires, epidemics, and other misfortunes of ours. In brief, items about all kinds of misfortunes are impeded not so much because we are "poor but proud," but to conceal our omissions and the unseemly state of affairs.

For some reason the champions of secrecy do not notice or do not want to notice that the world situation has changed substantially. Not only compared to the thirties and forties, when a spirit of spy mania ruled, but even compared to the sixties and seventies. The state's living standard, defense potential, and prestige now no longer depend on protecting information but only on developing science, technology, education, and information technology. It is excessive secrecy that is delaying their development.

In addition to this unseen but expensive payment for secrecy, there is another, by no means symbolic, form of payment. Has anyone calculated how many watchmen, guards, and servants of first departments ther are in our country? God grant that they are less than 2 percent of the entire able-bodied population. Of course, enterprises from which material valuables can be taken need to be guarded. But raykoms, ispolkoms, institutes, or the Academy of Social Sciences, which should work in the people's midst: What are they protecting there? Surely not the departmental snack bars?

I remember during a tourist trip in Peru we were taken to the Foreign Ministry. Our tourists were struck above all by the absence of watchmen or guards. The Japanese were once asked why they sometimes place plaster casts at crossroads instead of men on point duty. "We are not so rich as to be able to allow healthy men to stand idle throughout the working day," they answered.

It is not only "little old women with time on their hands" who are employed as guards. A powerful apparatus of healthy men is not sowing, not plowing, not building. They are registering and checking passes in institutions, border zones, and enterprises. In an institute the deputy director for regulations often receives a higher salary than a professor or doctor of sciences, or even than the director himself. Yet he does not design missiles or radar equipment, he merely observes instructions which are written and approved by others.

Playing at secrecy is a malignant sore that has developed from the normal cells of the protection of what are really state secrets to what has now become a veritable calamity for science. It prevents the exchange of information between scientists both inside and outside the country. One more price levied by this phenomenon is the unjustified duplication of work, the loss of scientists' time on formal procedures, the obstacles on the path of the emergence of new ideas, and the delayed development of science.

The French saying has it that the number of plotters is in direct proportion to the number of members of the secret police. I fear that the number of instructions and bans on publications in our country is in direct proportion to the number of those who "enjoy banning." At any rate the procedure for publishing a scientific work is surprisingly reminiscent of the children's game of "don't say yes or no." To obtain a certificate of expert examination authorizing publication, the author, together with a five-man commission, must provide a written oath that the article contains nothing new, original, and interesting, and that it does not use uncompleted scientific work (as though it is possible to definitively complete scientific work).

In accordance with the rules of this game, the oath is ritually registered with a large number of stamped papers. Erasures and corrections are not allowed in them, as is the case in the Gosbank. As a result, the labor input involved in registering the accompanying documents is often substantially in excess of the labor input in writing the article. That is why authors often prefer to renounce the exchange of information with their colleagues rather than engage in this pointless work.

Indeed, if an article really does meet the "does not contain" description accorded it in the certificate of expert examination, there is simply no point in publishing it. Because of this, all scientific and technical journals would simply have to be closed down. But an editor with any skill is concerned only with the act's observance of the formal signs: the presence of seals and the number of pages. On finding an error, a well intentioned editor turns pale while an ill-intentioned editor rubs his hands, eager for blood. But in both cases the article... is returned to the author.

The costs of this game are not that innocuous: According to my assessments, the enormous expenditure of time reduces scientists' labor productivity at least 4-7 percent. The prestige of Soviet scientific publications abroad is declining steadily. Also humiliating is the actual procedure whereby scientists must justify themselves to laymen like people who are virtually being suspected of espionage.

I think that it is high time that the scientist himself was given the definitive right to determine the possibility of publishing his work. Ultimately he himself is vitally interested in its legal protection as an invention. And who better than the scientist himself to assess the possibility of his work being used in defense technology?

So who needs all this? Bureaucrats employed in secrecy know how to prove the need for their existence "by state interests." The number of secrets grows from one instruction to the next, including through the classification of information known to the whole world.

It is not only the high wages and clean work which attract people to the secrecy service. After all, in this sphere it is not only the secrets themselves but also the ritual of their registration and the activity of the apparatus which, thanks to this fact, is to a considerable extent unsupervised and unpunished, which is concealed from people's eyes. There is considerable power in it. For instance, in our institute even a doctor of technical sciences engages with enthusiasm in registering certificates of expert examination, driving many venerable scientific employees like small boys. Although everyone knows what kind of a "doctor" he is, he keeps the entire institute in fear.

Of course, this apparatus, which has power although it is of little use, does not contain only idlers, talentless people, and failed research workers. It also has intelligent people. So let's think: What are we spending their efforts and working time on?

These questions await answers. Secrecy is the reverse side of glasnost. We cannot develop glasnost without reducing secrecy and the bureaucratic apparatus that stands guard over it. We must learn to look at life with our eyes open and to speak openly about everything.

Activities of 'Mir' Cosmonauts' Outlined

Europeans Join Roentgen Experiments

LD2301023489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] A new work week is starting on board the Mir research complex. Within the framework of the international roentgen program of experiments on nonatmospheric astronomy, there will be several series of measurements of X-ray radiation taken today with the help of telescopes of the Kvant module. Together with Soviet scientists, specialists of Great Britain, the Netherlands, the FRG, and the European Space Agency are taking part in this work.

The day's program also includes geophysical and technical experiments.

According to the crew's report, the flight is proceeding on schedule. Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov are healthy and feel well.

Medical Experiment Conducted

LD2101224689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] A communications session has been held with the cosmonauts on board "Mir." This is the first to be shown this year, simply because it so happens that "Mir" has been passing over the USSR at night all this time. The cosmonauts have been testing equipment bought from Austria, which provides rapid blood analyses. Called Reflotron, it is manufactured by the firm Boehringer Mannheim of West Germany. The cosmonauts have found the equipment compact and fast. Such equipment is already being used in the USSR in a mother and child center. [video shows cosmonauts speaking about the equipment and then shows close-ups of the equipment]

Past Week's Experiments Reviewed

LD2001105289 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—By TASS special correspondent reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The Soviet crew of a Mir space station are concluding one more week in orbit. During the week, Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov conducted maintenance work on onboard systems, unloaded a Progress-39 cargo ship and carried out astrophysical and medical studies.

They also conducted routine observations of the nucleus of an active galaxy in the Hunting Dogs constellation under the roentgen international project.

Physician Polyakov carried out a series of experiments with the help of Pleven-87 equipment, developed by Bulgarian specialists, to determine psychophysiological reactions and operator qualities of a cosmonaut.

With the help of Gamma multi-purpose recording equipment, he studied the blood-circulating systems of the commander and the flight engineer.

The plan of medical studies for today includes measuring the cosmonauts' mass, checking their hearing, and studying the cardiovascular systems during physical exercises on the bicycle ergometer.

The flight is proceeding in accordance with the programme.

The cosmonauts are feeling well.

Icebreaker Reaches 'North Pole-28' Scientists

LD2001093689 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Murmansk January 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vasiliy Belousov:

A Soviet nuclear-powered icebreaker succeeded in its second attempt to hack a path to Soviet North Pole researchers stranded on a melting ice floe and rescue them.

After it was prevented by an impregnable wall of ice from reaching their "North Pole-28" station in its first try, the icebreaker Rossiya made a detour and smashed a channel to the men in distress from the north.

The ship's crew and the scientists are now evacuating the equipment of the polar station.

Weather and ice conditions in the Greenland Sea, where it is drifting, have, in the meantime, deteriorated even further.

The Rossiya Captain Anatoliy Lamekhov reported rapid ice hummocking due to strong northern winds, with blizzards limiting visibility to just two or even one cable's lengths.

The fast shifting of ice fields to the south threatened to entrap the research ship Otto Schmidt, which is to substitute for the station by getting stuck in the ice and finishing the drift, before schedule.

So its captain took the vessel to safer waters to wait for the Rossiya.